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A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

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A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

THIS volume is intended for a handbook of Biblical Introduction—dealing with such questions as the date, authorship, composition, analysis, and contents of the several books—for those who are unacquainted or only slightly acquainted with the original languages of the Bible and the technicalities of criticism. The authors have been anxious to include all matters of importance, to state the prevalent views concerning them, and to do so at sufficient length to make them intelligible. Necessarily, therefore, many details of analysis and criticism have had to be omitted, and many theories held by only a few scholars have had to be ignored. Not only did considerations of space require these omissions, but it was important that the student should not be so bewildered by a crowd of details and conflicting theories as to be unable "to see the wood for the trees." Hence, only an outline of arguments and specimens of evidence are given, and it must not be supposed that an exhaustive proof is offered of the positions maintained. Similarly the authorities referred to are merely a representative selection. Care has been taken to secure that the information given should be accurate and recent.

In the Old Testament, the critical position is, speaking roughly, that identified in this country with Professors Cheyne, Driver, Ryle, G. A. Smith, etc.;

and generally assumed by the writers on O.T. subjects in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.[1] Brief notes as to the light thrown by Assyrian, Babylonian, and other inscriptions on the history of Israel have been added to the passages of the historical books which they illustrate. Under each book, or—where the present books are collections of earlier works—under each section, some account is given of its use in the New Testament; this account, however, is not exhaustive. The references to Driver's *Introduction* are to the *Sixth* Edition; but, except where specially stated, the *numbers* of the pages are those of the *Fifth* and earlier editions, which are given in brackets [ ] in the text of the Sixth. Special attention is called to the explanation of symbols and technical terms on pp. 15 ff., 24 f., 32, 62 n.

With regard to the chapters on the New Testament, a brief description of the patristic writers cited will be found in an appendix; for a fuller account the reader is referred to Professor Charteris' *Canonicity*. The scheme of chronology adopted in the New Testament period is that which until recently has been almost universally accepted, that followed in the main by Schürer, Lightfoot, Hort, etc. Recently Harnack, McGiffert, and others have argued for an earlier dating of the chief events in St. Paul's life, and of the writing of his epistles. In an important article on "Chronology" in the new *Bible Dictionary*, the writer, Mr. C. H. Turner, has demonstrated the impossibility of these early dates. There is still some uncertainty; but the variation is

[1] The widespread acceptance of such views, even outside the ranks of O.T. scholars, may be illustrated by the advocacy of the non-historical character of *Jonah* by the late Dr. R. W. Dale in the *Expositor* of July, 1892.

only a matter of about five years, and the relative distinctions of dates remain unchanged. Under these circumstances it seems wisest to adhere to the generally accepted chronology, though with the proviso that it is not certain, and might perhaps be shifted back one or two years, as Mr. Turner suggests.

Each of the authors is solely responsible for his own share of the book.

This account of Biblical criticism is published in the faith that "Any criticism of the human element in the Bible, which makes it more truly human, more analogous to the workings of the human spirit otherwhere, tends without question to enhance our sense of its reality and worth."[1] The authors of this volume trust that it may help its readers to a truer understanding of the sacred Scriptures, and to a fuller appreciation of their unique importance; and may confirm them in the evangelical recognition of the supreme authority of the Bible as interpreted and applied by the Holy Spirit for the spiritual life.

[1] Canon Illingworth, *Personality, etc.*, p. 186.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN preparing the Second Edition some corrections and references to recent criticism have been made in the body of the text; the Bibliography has been brought up to date; and three short Appendices have been added.

The authors wish to thank correspondents who have pointed out misprints and suggested emendations, and their acknowledgments are specially due to Rev. Prof. A. S. Peake, M.A.

The modification of the title-page makes it necessary to state here that Professor Bennett is responsible for the sections on the Old Testament and Apocrypha, pp. 1–274, 474–481; and Principal Adeney for the sections on the New Testament, pp. 275–470, 481–485.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

BESIDES additions to the Bibliography and minor changes, parts of the sections on "Samuel," pp. 89, 90, on "Hebrew Poetry," pp. 149, 151, 152, on "The Synoptic Problem," pp. 316–327, and on the "Fourth Gospel," pp. 334–340B, have been revised.

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BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY TO OLD TESTAMENT

1. MSS. and Versions
2. External Evidence
3. History of Criticism
4. Canon

1. **Text, MSS., and Versions.**—The main authorities for the text are the Hebrew MSS., *i.e.* the Masoretic Text, and the Septuagint. Apart from a papyrus fragment of the first century A.D. containing the Ten Commandments, and the recently reported discovery of a Pentateuch codex dated A.D. 734,[1] the oldest Hebrew MSS. are the Pentateuch, *c.* A.D. 840, in the British Museum; and the Prophets, dated by its own scribe A.D. 916, now at St. Petersburg. The oldest MS. of the whole O.T. mentioned by Ginsburg was written *c.* A.D. 1230.

The various readings are comparatively unimportant, and the substantial agreement of so many MSS. confirms the statements that, long before A.D. 800, the accurate transmission of the Hebrew Text had been safeguarded by a number of ingenious and efficacious devices. The present consonantal text was probably fixed, and as it were stereotyped, during the first three centuries after Christ. The vowel-points were added later. The "Square Hebrew," however, of our MSS.

[1] Pp. 1 f., Dr. Norbert Peter's monograph on the *Papyrus Nash.*

and printed copies is really the Aramaic script adopted by the Jews some time after the Exile. The character previously used by Israelite writers was that of the Moabite stone. Moreover, in the ancient writings themselves the use of weak consonants for vowels only occurs to a very limited extent. Thus our present pointed text has been obtained from the original, by transcription from the old into the square Hebrew, by the insertion of weak consonants to do duty as vowels, and by the addition of vowel-points. The comparative uniformity of existing MSS. suggests that, at some stage in the formation of the text, the editors constituted one MS. an archetype for subsequent copies, and suppressed all the earlier MSS. which differed from it. The margins of our MSS. and some other Jewish authorities preserve a number of comparatively unimportant various readings, besides those obtained by a comparison of the MSS. themselves.

The Samaritans have MSS. of the Pentateuch in a form of the old Hebrew character; it is claimed that some of these belong to the first four centuries of the Christian era. The differences between these MSS. and those of the Masoretic edition do not substantially affect the text.

The other main authority is the Septuagint or Greek version, which was made at Alexandria at different times by various translators. The Pentateuch was probably translated in the reign of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), B.C. 285–246, and the prologue to Ecclesiasticus shows that a Greek translation of the Law, the Prophets, and other books existed in B.C. 130. The Septuagint was probably completed before the Christian era, but we do not know the exact date. This version is extant in numerous MSS., apparently all derived from Christian sources; the oldest and most important are the Vatican and Sinaitic,[1] which also contain the N.T. The differences of reading discovered by comparing the MSS. of the Septuagint with each other and with those of the Hebrew Text are numerous and important.

Probably the Targums, or oral Aramaic translations given

[1] BN, fourth century A.D. There are earlier fragments in papyri.

in the synagogues after the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, existed in a kind of oral edition at the beginning of the Christian era; but the extant Targums were not committed to writing till a much later date.

The Babylonian Targums, that of the Law named after Onkelos, that of the Prophets after Jonathan ben Uzziel, belong to the second and third centuries A.D. The Palestinian Targums, viz., the two on the Law, the Jerusalem Targum and that of Pseudo-Jonathan, and the rest are later.

Greek translations by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion were made in the second century A.D. With the exception of Theodotion's Daniel only fragments are preserved.

The Old Latin Version, second century A.D., was made from the Septuagint, which also largely influenced the Peshito or Syriac Version, second or third century. Jerome's Vulgate, *c.* A.D. 400, is a very thorough revision of the Old Latin Version from the Hebrew original.

2. **External Evidence.**[1]—As the external evidence concerning the date and authorship of the books of the O.T. mostly refers to the whole collection, it is convenient to give a sketch of it here. The oldest MSS. of the Hebrew Text show us that the Hebrew Text now current, from which E.V. is translated, was known about A.D. 800–1000, *i.e.*, that all the books of the O.T. were then extant in their present form. The oldest MSS. of the LXX. show us that they were all extant in substantially[2] their present form about A.D. 300–400. Further, the accounts given of the Synod of Jamnia show that all the books existed at the close of the first century A.D., and the numerous quotations in the N.T. mostly agree either with the LXX. or the Hebrew Text, from which we infer that the books quoted in the N.T. existed then in substantially the same form as that in which they are found in the LXX. and the Hebrew. These books comprise all the O.T. except *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Chronicles*, *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Obadiah*, *Zephaniah*, *Nahum*.[3] Philo

[1] On Internal Evidence see chap. ii. § 11.

[2] The differences are appreciable.

[3] WESTCOTT, *Bible in the Church*, p. 43.

and Josephus confirm our inference as to the books used in N.T., and enable us to extend it to the other books of O.T., with two possible exceptions, *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles*.

We can add from Philo, *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Chronicles*. Josephus' history shows his acquaintance with all the historical books. In his account of the Scriptures[1] he states that there are only *twenty-two* sacred books: the *five* books of Moses, *thirteen* books by the prophets containing the history from Moses to Artaxerxes, and *four* books containing hymns to God and practical directions to men. The *thirteen* are perhaps: (1) *Joshua*, (2) *Judges* and *Ruth*, (3) *Samuel*, (4) *Kings*, (5) *Isaiah*, (6) *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*, (7) *Ezekiel*, (8) *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, (9) *Chronicles*, (10) *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, (11) *Esther*, (12) *Daniel*, (13) *Job*: and the *four*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*.[2]

It would, however, be quite possible to reckon Ruth and Lamentations as separate books, to place Job and Lamentations among the four, and extrude *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles*.[3]

There is no certain trace in Josephus of his acquaintance with these two books, and his list and classification do not prove that he was acquainted with them. Perhaps this master of craft and subtlety was intentionally ambiguous in view of the conflicting views of the Rabbis.

The fact that the LXX. contains all the O.T. shows that all the books were written before the LXX. was completed, *i.e.*, according to common opinion, before the beginning of the Christian era. Unfortunately this opinion, though probably correct, is not at present susceptible of formal proof.

The prologue to the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus speaks of "the Law and the Prophets and the other books" as known to the author, a passage which shows that the Law and the Prophets and some other sacred books were known to

[1] *Contra Apion*, i. 7–9.
[2] BUHL, *Canon*, p. 19.
[3] *Grätz ap. Buhl*, p. 19.

the translator, B.C. 130, and probably to his grandfather, the author, B.C. 180; but they by no means prove that the Hagiographa or Kethûbhîm, the third and latest section of the Hebrew Canon, then included all the books which it ultimately embraced. On the contrary, the list of worthies, xliv.–xlix. implies the author's acquaintance with all the books of the "Law" and the "Prophets"; but, of the Hagiographa, only Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Psalms are referred to.

The story that the Law was translated into Greek by seventy-two Jews[1] for Ptolemy (Philadelphus), B.C. 284–246, is extant in a letter, the Epistle of the Pseudo-Aristeas, which is perhaps as old as B.C. 200; if so, the main fact, the translation of the Law into Greek *c.* B.C. 250, may probably be accepted; and we have external evidence of the existence of the complete Pentateuch at that date.[2]

The Samaritans possess ancient Hebrew MSS.[3] of the Pentateuch in a modification of the old Hebrew character. Probably the Samaritans obtained and accepted the Pentateuch not long after their establishment of a schismatic Judaism. This was certainly not earlier than the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, B.C. 444. Our information concerning the history of the Samaritans is too fragmentary and ambiguous to enable us to fix exactly the date at which they received the Pentateuch; but it points to the existence of the Pentateuch before B.C. 300.

Thus the evidence outside of the O.T. itself shows that the Pentateuch was in existence before B.C. 300; Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Book of the Twelve Prophets, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Psalms before B.C. 180; the rest of the O.T. before the beginning of the Christian era. The proof, however, is not quite absolute from external evidence alone in the case of Ecclesiastes and Canticles. But, even as a matter of external evidence, these two books could not be much later.

[1] Hence the title Septuagint.

[2] BUHL, p. 110.

[3] Some probably as old as A.D. 400.

The LXX. and the Hebrew Text have reached us along independent lines of transmission. The differences between them, though numerous and important, do not seriously affect O.T. history and teaching. This agreement shows us that our O.T. existed substantially as we now have it before the Christian era.[1]

External evidence as to authorship is necessarily slighter and less definite. A reference to a book is proof of its existence at the time when the reference was made, and fixes a limit to the period within which it can have been composed. But a statement as to authorship merely conveys the opinion of the person who makes it, and when he lived centuries after the book was written his opinion carries little weight, unless it can be shown—not merely assumed—that he connects with the book through a satisfactory series of intermediate authorities. Revelation, of course, might have given N.T. writers direct information on such subjects, or our Lord might have made statements as to the date and authorship of the Jewish Scriptures part of His message to the world. But neither Christ nor the inspired writers declare that such matters are part of the Revelation made by Him or through them.

Our Hebrew and Greek MSS. show that in N.T. times the books already bore their present titles, and they are referred to under these titles in the N.T. and elsewhere. But such references are not equivalent to expressions of opinion as to authorship. For instance, "Matthew says, etc." merely means to-day "The First Gospel says, etc."; the personal name "Matthew" is used as a title for the book, without any intention of stating a conviction as to authorship. Thus Calvin does not hold 2 Peter to be the work of the apostle, but expressly justifies the referring to it as "Peter," because he believes it to be consistent with his teaching.[2] Similarly, Origen says of the Epistle to the

[1] The *additions* in the LXX. do not affect this evidence.

[2] So Dr. Currey writes in the S.P.C.K. commentary on Ecclesiastes, 1878: "Commentators have in general spoken of the contents of this book as the words of Solomon, without intending thereby to express any precise opinion of its authorship and date."

Hebrews that "God only knows who wrote it," yet in his writings he freely quotes it as "Paul's."[1] Hence unless a writer or speaker makes it clear that he is intending to state an authoritative judgment as to the authorship of a book, quotations from "Moses," or "David," or "Kings" merely mean that the passages are taken from the books bearing these titles. Our leading authorities are for the most part singularly wanting in explicit statements as to the authorship of O.T. books. The N.T. lays little stress upon authorship; in the majority of its quotations it does not think it worth while to mention any author's name; it is not careful to confine the term "David" to Psalms bearing Davidic titles, but extends it to the anonymous Psalms ii. and xcv.[2] In some cases the authors' names connected with quotations in the N.T. differ from the titles of the O.T. books from which they are taken.[3]

It is not that the N.T. writers intended to give an inspired contradiction of the O.T., but that they were indifferent, and did not claim to deliver inspired messages on these subjects.

The most explicit statement is the well-known Talmudic passage, which probably represents the current opinion of the Rabbis at the beginning of the Christian era.[4] It runs as follows:—"But who wrote (the books of the Bible)? *Moses* wrote his own book (and) the section about Balaam, and Job. *Joshua* wrote his own book and (the last) eight verses of the Pentateuch. *Samuel* wrote his own book (and) the books

[1] *e.g.*, *Against Celsus*, chap. liii.

[2] Acts iv. 25; Heb. iv. 7.

[3] In Mark i. 2, 3, R.V., Mal. iii. 1, + Isaiah xl. 3 is quoted as "written in the prophet Isaiah"; in Matt. xxvii. 9, Zech. xi. 12, 13 are referred to as "spoken by Jeremiah the prophet"; probably elsewhere the *names* of authors of quotations have been inserted by scribes, much as references are written or printed in English Bibles. Thus the name "Daniel" given in Matt. xxiv. 15 is absent from Mark, R.V., and Luke; and "Jeremiah" is omitted by some authorities in Matt. ii. 17.

[4] Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra, f. 14b. Though this edition of the Talmud was composed about A.D. 500, the passage in question is a "baraitha," or early tradition from the age of the Mishna, *i.e.*, the second century A.D. BUHL, *Canon*, p. 5.

of Judges and Ruth. *David* wrote the book of Psalms by the ten venerable elders, Adam the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Haman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. *Jeremiah* wrote his own book, the books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his friends (wrote the books included in) the mnemonic book Y.a.M.Sh.a.Q., *i.e.*, Isaiah (*Yeshayāhû*), Proverbs (*Meshālîm*), Canticles (*Shîr hash-Shîrîm*), and Ecclesiastes (*Qōheleth*). The *Men of the Great Synagogue* (wrote the books included in) the mnemonic word ḤaNDaG, *i.e.*, Ezekiel (ye Ḥezkēl), the Twelve (*Nebhîîm*), Daniel, and Esther. *Ezra* wrote his own book and continued the genealogies of the books of Chronicles down to his own times. . . . But who completed them (the books of Chronicles)? Nehemiah ben Hachaliah."

Clearly, "wrote" cannot be used here of the literary composition of our present books. The Book of Joshua narrates the death of Joshua; the Book of Samuel narrates the whole reign of David, while Samuel died before his accession. The Great Synagogue, if it existed at all, was a post-exilic institution, and the Talmud could not mean that Amos and Hosea were post-exilic. Note, too, that David's "writing" of the Psalms does not exclude "ten venerable elders" from a share in the work. The inevitable conclusion is that when the Jews of our Lord's time spoke of anyone "writing" a book, they used the term in a very elastic sense; either of preparing the final edition which took its place in the Canon, or of having some connection with the book, as being its hero, and the author of part of its contents. Similarly, although Ecclus. xliv.–xlix. implies that, in the author's time, the books of the Law and the Prophets bore their present titles, it does not assert that the persons mentioned in the titles were the literary authors of the books in their present form. Even Philo and Josephus, who dilate on Moses' gifts as a legislator, and speak of him as prophesying his death and burial, lay little stress on his actual literary authorship.

There is a story in Fourth Esdras, *c.* A.D. 90–100, that the Law was burnt, and that Ezra was inspired to dictate afresh

ninety-four books to five scribes, seventy of which were reserved for scholars and twenty-four published.[1] This strange legend seems to point to a tradition of an extensive post-exilic revision of the Law and the rest of the O.T.

Thus the external evidence as to authorship shows that the books of the O.T. had their present titles at the beginning of the Christian era, and that the Law and the Prophets (including Joshua to 2 Kings, less Ruth) had such titles about B.C. 200; and that the Pentateuch existed in its present form *c.* B.C. 300. Further, Moses and others named in such titles are often spoken of as in some sense authors of the books to which their names are attached, but the extant evidence suggests that they may not always have been credited with the literary authorship of these books in their present form. Otherwise, our authorities seem to have had no information on the subject but that given by the titles and other contents of the O.T. Practically, therefore, we are left to determine the date and authorship of the books from the same evidence.

3. **The General Course of Criticism.** It follows, from what has been maintained in the section on External Evidence, that there is nothing to show either that Jewish views as to date and authorship were based on any careful and thorough investigations, or even that their statements are intended to ascribe literary authorship to the persons whose names they use as titles of books. The Pentateuch, for instance, might be called the Law of Moses, and carry his authority, even if it was not composed by him; it represented his teaching and his spirit. Thus the criticism of our books had not really begun when the Church took over the O.T. from the Synagogue. With the books, the Church also took the titles, and the loose understanding that the personal titles were, as far as possible, to be interpreted as ascriptions of authorship. With slight exceptions, there was no inquiry into the

[1] xiv. 19-48; the book is called 2 Esdras in the English version of the Apocrypha. The twenty-four published books are probably those of the O.T., which were often reckoned as twenty-four.

evidence of date and authorship. The intellect of Christian scholars was preoccupied with the Canon and criticism of the N.T., and with the construction of a system of theology. Meanwhile, popular usage hardened into definite and rigid shape the traditional views taken over from the Rabbis. Lapse of time gave the authority of prescription to what had merely been accepted by an *otiose assent;* and, throughout the Middle Ages, the cruel weight of ecclesiastical intolerance effectually crushed any movement to reopen a question which both the Church and the Synagogue were supposed to have settled. Nevertheless, here and there, a passage of a father, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, or of a Rabbi, like Ibn Ezra, shows that the objections to the traditional views were patent to competent scholars who were also independent thinkers.

The Reformation promised, at first, to liberate criticism; Luther and Calvin were the pioneers of modern biblical criticism; they set aside traditional views on some points connected with the Apocrypha and minor O.T. books. But history repeated itself, the Protestant leaders were mainly occupied with the revolution in Church government and the reconstruction of theology. The traditional views which the Primitive Church had accepted by *otiose assent* from the Rabbis, the Protestants again accepted, with little change, from the Church of Rome. About this period, and before and after, Spinoza, Grotius, and others, besides the great reformers, made beginnings of O.T. criticism in various directions; but there was no comprehensive or thorough investigation into the date and authorship of the respective books. The movement towards inquiry was checked, and, in the absence of any emphatic challenge, it came to be supposed that the traditional views were part of the body of Christian truth, which Protestants held in common with the Church of Rome.

It was only towards the close of the last century that the principles of the Reformation began to be systematically applied to O.T. criticism. Since then, the question of the

date, authorship, etc., of all the books of the O.T. has been carefully examined. The process has been long, laborious, and difficult, and is by no means completed. Two special causes have added to the difficulty. (1) In most cases, and till recently in all cases, the scholars engaged in this task were trained to take the traditional views for granted, and to assume that they were always supported by conclusive evidence. When a scholar was engaged in a fresh and independent examination of some one subject, on all other subjects he was almost obliged to assume the traditional views, which had moulded all his habits of thought on the O.T. Hence the first solutions proposed often blend the assumptions of tradition and the results of criticism in the most curious fashion. (2) On the other hand, it was soon discovered that, in many cases, the strong evidence supposed to support the older views simply did not exist; and that what seemed to be evidence was often quite irrelevant. Hence there arose a tendency to reject both views and evidence in too wholesale a fashion. For these two reasons results have had to be revised and reconsidered again and again. But there are signs that something like finality is being reached as to the main facts; although in dealing with a very ancient literature chiefly by internal evidence, results must always be approximate, there will always be a broad margin of uncertainty, within which different scholars will arrive at different results.

There has also been a third difficulty. Naturally, anxiety has been felt lest the processes and results of criticism should weaken the authority of the Bible, and undermine the foundations of essential Christian doctrines. Now, however, the new positions have met with widespread acceptance for more than a generation, and experience shows that ministers and Christians generally hold such positions without losing anything of their fulness of spiritual life, or of their zeal and success in the service of their Master.

In many respects, especially in the Prophetical Books, criticism has substantially confirmed traditional views; in many other matters those views have been considerably

modified, or even entirely set aside. The general result, however, tends not to weaken, but to strengthen, the spiritual authority and value of the Old Testament.

The very general statement given above would apply to almost all schools of criticism. Some scholars, however, believe that the ultimate results of criticism will be much more in accordance with traditional views than the position taken in the O.T. section of this book. *Cf.* Preface and Appendix on Literature.

4. **Canon.**—The idea of a Canon, or collection of books distinguished from all others by unique inspiration and religious authority, was fully established among the Jews before the beginning of the Christian era. Yet there was not unanimity as to the exact list of canonical books. The Hebrew collection of sacred books was less numerous than that used by Greek-speaking Jews. Even amongst Palestinian Jews the canonicity of Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs, and Canticles was still discussed in the first century A.D. But the Synod of Jamnia, *c.* A.D. 90, seems to have fixed the Canon of the Hebrew O.T. as we now have it; and this Canon was confirmed by the Mishna, *c.* A.D. 200. The O.T. as published, so to speak, by the Masoretic editors, not earlier than about A.D. 150, and as printed in our Hebrew Bibles, consists of three parts :—

(i.) *Torah*, or Pentateuch.

(ii.) *Nebhî'îm*, or Prophets.

(*a*) *Nebhî'îm Ri'shônîm*, or First Volume of the Prophets, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings.

(*b*) *Nebhî'îm 'Aḥărônîm*, or Second Volume of the Prophets,[1] Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve.

(iii.) *Kethûbhîm*, or Hagiographa, Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah; and the five festival rolls, or *Megillôth*, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther.

[1] Another, less probable, explanation of (*a*) and (*b*) is "earlier" and "later prophets."

This grouping is recognised in the N.T. in the frequent references to "the Law and the Prophets,"[1] and once to "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms."[2] Similarly the prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaks of the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers. Thus the two first sections of the Canon, the Law and the Prophets, seem fully accepted in their present form before B.C. 130, and almost certainly before B.C. 200. The canonical status of the Pentateuch is implied in Chronicles, B.C. 300–250; the priestly code became canonical under Ezra and Nehemiah; the kernel of Deuteronomy under Josiah.

So far we have been dealing with the Canon of the Palestinian Rabbis. Although the canonicity of some of our O.T. books was matter for discussion, no serious attempt seems to have been made to include in the Jewish Canon any books not contained in our O.T. The Alexandrine and other Hellenistic Jews, however, had a wider canon, including, in addition to all the books of our O.T., our Apocrypha, viz., the additions to Esther, the additions to Daniel (*i.e.*, the Song of the Three Holy Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Prayer of Manasses, Esdras, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, and Tobit.

Although we have no early express statements that the Hellenistic Jews had this wider canon, two considerations point to its existence: (i.) In the existing MSS. of the Septuagint the Apocrypha are not collected in a final appendix, but are distributed amongst the other books as if of equal authority. Although all these MSS. are Christian, the arrangement is probably borrowed from the Hellenistic Jews. (ii.) The Apocrypha were often included in the Christian Canon. Now Christian scholars who refused to accept any but our O.T. books, did so on the authority of the Palestinian Jews. Probably, therefore, those who accepted a wider canon also followed Jewish authority—in this case, the opinions and customs of the Hellenistic Jews.

[1] Matt. vii. 12, etc. [2] Luke xxiv. 44.

With slight exceptions the books of the Palestinian Canon have been universally received by the Christian Church.[1]

Christendom has never arrived at any unanimous decision as to the canonicity of the O.T. Apocrypha. In the Patristic period and throughout the Middle Ages, there were scholars who preferred the Palestinian Canon; but popular usage and Church authority adopted the wider Canon of the Septuagint.[2]

At the Reformation the Protestant Churches practically limited their O.T. to the Palestinian Canon, but at the Council of Trent, in 1546, the Church of Rome authoritatively accepted the Canon of the Vulgate, which includes the bulk of O.T. Apocrypha.[3] The Greek Church arrived at a similar decision at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.[4]

[1] Some Syrian authorities omitted Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther and Job; and the canonicity of Esther was not fully acknowledged even in the fourth century A.D.; Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen both omit it from their lists.—BUHL, *O.T. Canon*, Eng. tr., pp. 53, 58.

[2] Jerome attempted to limit the O.T. to the Palestinian Canon, but the Council of Carthage, held in A.D. 397, accepted the Apocrypha as well.

[3] *i.e.*, the additions to Daniel and Esther, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom.

[4] BUHL, p. 65. It seems, however, that the decision has not determined the practice of the Greek Church; "the current of Greek opinion" is said to favour the Hebrew or Protestant Canon. *Cf.* Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, CANON. The *Book of Enoch*, see p. 270, is quoted as Scripture in Jude 14 f.

CHAPTER II.

EARLIER HISTORICAL BOOKS
GENESIS TO KINGS

1. Alphabetical Table of Terms and Symbols.
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1. Alphabetical Table of Terms and Symbols.—

A, Dillmann's symbol for P.

B, „ „ „ E.

Book of the Covenant, Exodus xx–xxiii., §§ 5, 15.

Book of the Four Covenants, Wellhausen's title for the Priestly Code.

C, Dillmann's symbol for J.

[1] *Ruth* is included in this chapter in order to follow the arrangement of the English Bible; it is doubtful whether it can be called "earlier."

D, either the Kernel of Deuteronomy, or the Deuteronomic material generally, or in any particular book, §§ 17, 27.

D^1, the Kernel of Deuteronomy.

D^2, D^3, Deuteronomic material later than D^1.

Da., Kittel's symbol for a History of David, identified by Budde with J.

Deuteronomy, Kernel of, see Kernel of Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomic, applied to material in the Kernel of Deuteronomy, or more widely to material in the style of Deuteronomy, for which "Deuteronomistic" is sometimes used.

Deuteronomic Epitome, the abstract of an earlier source made by the Deuteronomic author of Kings, § 32.

Deuteronomist, Author of Deuteronomy, or of D^2, etc.

Deuteronomistic, see Deuteronomic.

Dt. = D^2 or R^D.

E, the Elohist Prophetic Document, or its author, § 15.

E^1, earliest stratum of E.

E^2, E^3, later strata of E.

El, symbol used in this work for the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha, § 32.

Elohist, used by earlier critics for the author of all the Elohistic material in the Hexateuch, *i.e.*, P + E; by later critics for E, §§ 3, 15.

Elohist, First or Earlier, title given to P by critics who supposed it to be the earliest document of Hexateuch.

Elohist, Later or Second, title given to E by critics mentioned above.

Elohistic Prophetic Document, E, § 15.

Grundschrift, name given to the Elohistic material, P + E, of the Pentateuch, as the framework of the whole, § 3.

H, Law of Holiness, P^1, § 19.

Hexateuch, Hex., Pentateuch + Joshua.

Holiness, Law of, see Law of Holiness.

J, the Jehovistic Prophetic Document, or its author, § 14.

J^1, earliest stratum of J.

J^2 J^3, later strata of J.

JE, the document obtained by combining J and E, § 16.
JED, the document obtained by combining JE and D, § 18.
Je, Kittel's symbol for a History of David mainly identified by Budde with J.
Jehovistic Prophetic Document, J, § 14.
Kernel of Deuteronomy, the contents of the first edition of Deuteronomy, D^1, § 17.
Law of Holiness, Leviticus xvii.–xxvi., H or P^1, § 19.
P, either the Priestly Code, or any material by priestly writers, § 20.
P^1, the Law of Holiness, H, § 19.
P^2, the Priestly Code proper.
P^3, P^s, P^*, later additions to the Priestly Code.
Priestly Code, P^2, § 20.
Prophetic Documents, J and E.
Q, Wellhausen's symbol for P^2.
R, editor, or matter added by an editor.
R^D, editor who added D to JE, or matter composed by him, § 17.
R^{JE}, editor who combined J and E, or matter added by him, § 16.
R^P, editor who combined JED and P, or later priestly editors who supplemented the Pentateuch and other historical books, § 21.
S, Kittel's symbol for a history of Saul, mainly identified by Budde with J, § 31.
SS, Kittel's symbol for a history of Saul, mainly identified by Budde with E^2, § 32.

2. **Methods of Composition.**—A history of ancient times is the last stage of a process by which it is connected with the events it describes. The intervening links are, amongst other things, the effects of these events, monuments and inscriptions, and earlier histories. In a first-class history we have the result of careful study of these authorities; the author combines information from various sources, and

reconstructs the nature, sequence, and relation of events; he also adds notes which give references to and extracts from his authorities. The text is the homogeneous work of a single mind, and rests primarily on the authority of the author; its accuracy depends partly on that of his sources, partly on his industry, honesty, intelligence, and imagination. The notes enable the reader to test the judgment of the modern historian by the statements of the ancient authorities. In our O.T. books this advanced form of history has not yet been reached. They stop short at a much earlier stage, and are roughly equivalent to the notes of such a work without the text. There were early sources, the documents in which tradition was first written down, or the contemporary account of events. Later writers utilised these in primitive fashion. In the ancient East custom and tradition were supreme; when once a story had taken shape, its general form and, in a measure, even its words were sacred.[1] Yet, from time to time, Israelite scholars were inspired to attempt a fuller and more spiritual treatment of the annals of the chosen people. A modern author tries to be original in method and language —in the text of his works, but not in his notes; there he is most anxious to reproduce his authorities as accurately as possible. The ancient historian reproduced and supplemented; he did not write a new work of his own. He used an ancient book as a groundwork, into which he inserted his new material; he retained time-honoured phrases, and interwove sentences and paragraphs from his sources with each other, and with connecting matter and other additions of his own, into a most remarkable literary mosaic. In the course of this process he expressed his conception of the course of events, and his judgment on history; he omitted objectionable passages, or accommodated them to the better taste and higher spiritual feeling of later times; he explained, illustrated, expanded, or moralised. Like

[1] In the same way children resent any departure from the familiar form of a favourite story, and many people have a predilection for narratives "in the words of Scripture itself"—preferably the A.V.

modern historians, he exercised his judgment and imagination as to what, in the nature of things, *must* have happened, and supplemented or even corrected the earlier narrative accordingly. Nevertheless, he retained as many and as extensive verbatim extracts as possible; he was not writing a new book of his own, but preparing a new edition of the old history. Thus a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels shows that Matthew and Luke largely consist of matter extracted verbatim from older sources, and in Tatian's *Diatessaron* a continuous narrative is constructed by piecing together extracts from the four Gospels. Similarly, Chronicles is an intricate combination of sections from the earlier historical books with the author's additions. Several verses in Judges i. occur in different parts of Joshua. But this method of using verbatim extracts from earlier works is not confined to cases where the same passage is still found in two O.T. books. A careful examination of the books we are now dealing with shows that they are made up of extracts from earlier works, which are only preserved so far as they are contained in our present books. By using this method the authors, or rather editors, have done us much better service than if they had rewritten the history in modern fashion. For the statements in these books, we have not merely the authority of late editors, but of one or more earlier sources.

3. **Earlier Theories.**—We have only space to state briefly the chief types of these theories, and here and there to give some slight indication of the grounds on which they have been advocated or rejected.

(a) *Authorship by Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and the Prophets.*—This view, though supported by many other arguments, practically rests on the supposed consensus of opinion of the Rabbis and the early Church. It contains an important element of truth. The Pentateuch is Mosaic, inasmuch as it rests on the authority of Moses, and has its roots in his work and teaching. Its laws were promulgated by the Jewish

leaders, and accepted by the people, because they were rightly believed to be in accordance with the revelation made to him. It is not improbable that the prophets had a share in composing, editing, and preserving the sacred records. But there is no appreciable evidence that Moses, Joshua, or Samuel actually wrote the Pentateuch or the Books of Joshua, Judges, or Samuel, or that the prophets composed the Book of Kings.[1] The contents of the Pentateuch naturally suggested the use of the phrases, "Law[2] of Moses," or "Book of the Law of Moses," as titles of the Pentateuch. When once these titles were established, they were sure to be interpreted as implying that the Pentateuch, as a literary composition, was the personal work of Moses. On the other hand, the editors who gave the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua and Samuel their present form, included in these works the accounts of the deaths of Moses, Joshua, and Samuel respectively. This fact shows that it was neither intended nor expected that they would be regarded as literary compositions by these three great leaders. A careful examination of the historical books shows that they contain material from sources belonging to different ages, and that much of their contents must be later than the times of the leaders whose names they bear. Hence the claims of Samuel and Joshua to authorship even of parts of books are not strongly urged; and almost all critics admit that the Pentateuch contains an appreciable amount of editorial additions made long after the Mosaic Age. A very large portion of the Pentateuch, forming the basis of the work, is still ascribed to Moses by some scholars; but the tendency of criticism is to minimise the Mosaic elements.

(b) *The Older Documentary Theory.*—The modern criticism of the historical books starts with the publication in 1753, by

[1] *Cf.* Ch. i. § 2, External Evidence.

[2] *Tôrāh*, of which word "law" is an unsatisfactory equivalent. *Torah* was originally used of any instruction on religious matters, whether given by priest or prophet. In its earlier uses it is more akin to "revelation" than to "law."

Astruc, a French physician, of his *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genese.* Noticing that the divine name *Elohim* was used throughout some sections of Genesis, and the divine name *Jehovah* throughout others, he analysed the book into two main sources, the *Elohistic* and the *Jehovistic*, and ten minor sources, consisting chiefly of fragments. Moses, according to Astruc, arranged this material in four columns, the contents of which were afterwards rewritten as a consecutive work.[1]

(c) *The Fragmentary Theory.*[2]—The attack on the unity of the Pentateuch was not long confined to Genesis. The analysis into sources was carried to extremes, and it was maintained that the whole Pentateuch was a compilation from a large number of more or less independent fragments. The numerous resemblances between the Pentateuch and Joshua were observed, and the two books were ascribed to the same author.[3] This analysis excluded the possibility of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole.

(d) *The Supplement Theory.*[4]—The permanent elements of the Fragmentary Theory were the assertion of the composite character of the whole Pentateuch, of its close connection with the Book of Joshua, and the consequent denial of its Mosaic authorship. But criticism soon returned to the lines indicated by Astruc. Though a section might not connect with what went before and after, it was seen to connect with a series of similar sections throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua. Deuteronomy was soon seen to be substantially independent. The rest proved to be compiled from older documents, often interwoven, especially in the narrative sections, in a very intricate fashion. For this compilation Astruc's analysis into a main Elohistic document and a main Jehovistic document was accepted, and extended to

[1] HOLZINGER, p. 41.
[2] GEDDES, 1792; VATER, 1802–1805.
[3] GEDDES, ap. ADDIS, *Documents*, etc., I. xxiv.
[4] STÄHELIN, 1830; EWALD, 1831; TUCH, 1838.

the whole Hexateuch,[1] outside of Deuteronomy.[2] The Elohistic document was clearly the framework of the whole book, into which the other material had been fitted. Hence it was naturally supposed that this framework was the older book, and that the Jehovistic material had been added by a later editor to supplement the original text. Because of the use of the Elohistic material as a framework, it has often been called the "Grundschrift" or "Fundamental Document." Ewald called it "the Book of Origins."

4. **Current Documentary Theories.**

(a) *Completion of the Analysis.* — Further examination showed that the Elohistic material had been taken from two separate documents, the Priestly Code[3] and the Elohistic Prophetic Narrative;[4] and that, although the Priestly Code had been used as the framework of the Pentateuch, the other material had not been composed to supplement it, but had been taken from independent documents. Further analysis has been occupied with the detailed division of the books between the several documents, and in showing that the main documents are themselves composite, especially that the Priestly Code may be divided into the older Law of Holiness[5] and the more recent Priestly Code proper[6]; and that the documents of the Hexateuch extend into Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

As the result of this long investigation there is substantial agreement on the following points:—

The Pentateuch is compiled from four main documents: the two Prophetic Documents, the Jehovistic (J), using

[1] *i.e.*, Pentateuch + Joshua.

[2] There are small sections of the composite work in our book of Deut. See on Deut.

[3] P, called at one time the First Elohist by those who regarded it as the older of the two.

[4] E, similarly sometimes called the Second Elohist. The analysis of the Elohistic material into these two documents was made by Hupfeld, 1853, but had been suggested by Ilgen, ADDIS, I. xxviii.

[5] H or P^1. [6] P^2.

Jehovah in Gen., the Elohistic (E), using *Elohim* in Gen.; the Priestly Code (P), using *Elohim* in Gen.; the bulk of Deuteronomy (D).

The Priestly Code includes an earlier work, the Law of Holiness (H), Lev. xvii.–xxvi. There are post-exilic elements in the Hexateuch.

Josiah's law-book was an early edition of Deuteronomy, and was composed not very long before its publication in 621.

The Prophetic Documents, J and E, are older than Deuteronomy.

The detailed analysis, as far as the division into P, D and the combined JE are concerned.

The following points, however, are still matters of controversy:—

The relative age of D and P; whether the Priestly Code, as a whole, apart from editorial additions, is post-exilic and later than Deuteronomy, or pre-exilic and earlier than Deuteronomy.

The relative age, mutual relationship, dates, and place of composition of the Prophetic Documents, J and E.

The detailed analysis of passages containing material from J and E into the portions belonging to J and E respectively.

The presence of the same documents in the Hexateuch and in Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

The process by which J, E, and D were combined.

The analysis of the four main documents into earlier sources and later additions.

The time and mode of separation of Joshua or its contents from the rest of the Hexateuch.

(b) *The Theory of the Pre-exilic origin of the Priestly Code.*—Of the above points of difference, that concerning the age of the Priestly Code divides the critics who accept the analysis of the Hexateuch into two schools. A minority, including very distinguished scholars,[1] maintain that the Law

[1] Dillmann, Kittel, Baudissin, etc.

of Holiness may include elements as old as Moses, and the bulk of the Priestly Code was composed before Deuteronomy.[1] But it is admitted that the Law of Holiness, though containing material older than the rest of the Priestly Code, was itself compiled during the Exile,[2] and that the Code contains post-exilic material. But those who regard P as post-exilic would admit that it is largely based on pre-exilic customs and ritual, perhaps partly preserved in writing. Hence the difference between the two schools is not so striking as it seems at first sight. According to the one, P is pre-exilic with post-exilic additions; according to the other, P is post-exilic, using pre-exilic sources. Both views would be included in the formula—P is a combination of pre-exilic and post-exilic material.

(c) *The Theory of the Post-exilic origin of the Priestly Code.*[3]—Arranging the four main documents in the order J, E, D, P.[4]

As this is the theory followed throughout the present work, it is explained here in a tabular form, and a sketch of the arguments in its favour, and some further details are given in later sections. According to this theory, the Hexateuch is the final result of a long development, during which its material passed through the following stages:—[5]

(i.) The events of early Israelite history, the work and words of Moses, primitive Israelite customs, traditions, and documents.

(ii.) The compilation, *c.* 800–650, of the two Prophetic Documents, J and E, which include, *inter alia*, the earliest extant edition of the Law (the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xx.–xxiii.), and some early poems.

[1] According to DILLMANN and NÖLDEKE, *c.* 800.

[2] DILLMANN, NUM., etc., 645 ff.

[3] GRAF, WELLHAUSEN, KUENEN, STADE, etc.; DRIVER, etc. This is often called the Grafian Theory, and is held by the majority of recent scholars.

[4] The priority of J to E is not an essential feature of this theory.

[5] For the sake of clearness, the analysis of J, E and the later additions to D and P are not represented in this table; *cf.* §§ 14–20.

(iii.) The combination of J and E into a single work JE, *c.* 650–600.

(J + E) $R^{Je} = JE$.[1]

(iv.) The Kernel of Deuteronomy, D, published in 621, compiled somewhat earlier. Second Edition of the Law.

(v.) Combination of JE and D into a single work before the end of the Exile.

(JE + D) $R^{d} = JED$.

(vi.) Compilation of the Law of Holiness, H or P^{I}, Lev. xvii.–xxvi., etc., between 621 and the end of the Exile. Third Edition of the Law.

(vii.) Compilation of the Priestly Code, P, and the incorporation with it of the Law of Holiness, after the Exile; published by Ezra and Nehemiah in 444. Fourth Edition of the Law.

(viii.) Combination of JED and P, and exclusion of Joshua or its contents,[2] thus forming our Pentateuch, Fifth and Final Edition of the Law, and Book of Joshua, shortly after 444.

(JED + P) R^{P} = Pentateuch + Joshua.

5. **Methods of Analysis.**—We have seen that the use of the divine name *Jehovah* in some sections of Genesis, and *Elohim* in others, afforded a clue to the composite character of the Pentateuch. This feature, however, is only one of many. There is a multitude of abrupt transitions, repetitions, contradictions, differences of style, theological standpoint, and historical situation, which are inexplicable on the theory that the Pentateuch is a single consecutive work; but which are perfectly intelligible when we recognise that it is compiled from independent documents. It will be convenient to describe the analysis under three headings :—

(a) *The Legal Codes.*—Most of the legislation is contained

[1] *i.e.*, the composite work JE includes matter from J and E combined by a Redactor R^{Je}, who added necessary connecting matter, and otherwise modified his sources. The other equations are to be interpreted in the same way.

[2] *Cf.* §§ 21, 28.

in three separate codes: *The Book of the Covenant*, Exodus xx. 24–xxiii. 19; *The Kernel of Deuteronomy*, Deuteronomy v.–xxvi.; *The Laws of the Priestly Code*, the bulk of Exodus xxv.–xl.,[1] Leviticus, Numbers i.–x., etc. Here large blocks of material have been inserted whole. The differences between these codes show that they must have been composed at different times and under very different circumstances. Already, therefore, it is clear that at least three documents were used in the compilation of the Pentateuch.

(b) *Complete Sections.*—Apart from these codes, the composite character of the work is shown by the marked differences between consecutive sections. Take, for instance, the two accounts of the Creation, Genesis i. 1–ii. 4a and ii. 4b–25. They differ in style: the former is a carefully ordered, almost scientific statement, arranged in formal schedules of the same type, with recurring formulæ; the latter is a graphic popular narrative; each has its own vocabulary and idioms. They differ in theological standpoint: the former takes great trouble to avoid every appearance of anthropomorphism, the latter is frankly anthropomorphic; the interests of the former are cosmic, it is concerned with earth and heaven and all life, the latter thinks only of an inland province—nothing is said of fishes; the moral of the former is the observance of the Sabbath sanctioned by the divine example, that of the latter, the sanctity of marriage as sanctioned by primitive usage. Moreover, the two accounts contradict each other. In the former the animals are first created, and then Elohim, by a single utterance, creates mankind in two sexes; in the latter a man is first formed, then the animals, then a woman.

In Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings there are consecutive sections which present similar contrasts. It is extremely difficult to suppose that a single author, writing a single consecutive work, wrote first in one style

[1] The main exception is Exodus xxxi. 18b–xxxiv. 28.

and then in another. Here again we trace compilation from independent documents.

A comparison of such sections, in style, theological standpoint, and historical situation, with each other and with the three codes shows that they fall into three series, one of which connects with the Book of the Covenant, another with Deuteronomy, and a third with the Laws of the Priestly Code. Moreover, the sections connecting with the Book of the Covenant can again be divided into two series. Thus our analysis has discovered the four main documents: two connecting with the Book of the Covenant, these are J and E; the Kernel of Deuteronomy, and connected passages, D; and the Priestly Code, P.

(c) *Single Sections compiled from two or more Documents.*— Further, however, what seems, at first sight, a single consecutive narrative of one event proves to be a combination of two or more independent accounts of that event. Here again the composite character of such sections is shown by differences of style, etc., by abrupt transitions, and by repetitions and contradictions. The following is the analysis of the account of the Flood. The sections in ordinary type are from P; those in italics from J; those in small capitals were added by the editor, who combined the two:—

"*And the Lord said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female. Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth. And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.*

"And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

"*And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his*

sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth upon the earth, there went in TWO AND TWO *unto Noah into the ark,* THE MALE AND THE FEMALE, AS GOD HAD COMMANDED NOAH. *And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.*

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

"*And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.*

"In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; they, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein *is* the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him:

"*And the Lord shut him in.* AND THE FLOOD WAS FORTY DAYS UPON THE EARTH; *and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth.*

"And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

"*All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle,*

and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.

"And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days. And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that was with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped.

"*And the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually:*

"And after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

"*And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.*

"And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth:

"*And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.*

"And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried." (Genesis vii. 1–viii. 14.)

The composite character of this narrative is seen: (i.) from repetitions; as to the entering in to the ark, the rising of the flood, the perishing of all living creatures, and the drying of the earth; (ii.) from contradictions; in P we have periods of 150 days, in J of 40 and of 7; in P there are pairs of all the kinds of animals, in J sevens of the clean, pairs of the unclean. Moreover, the P passages present the characteristics of P, and thus connect with the rest of that document. They fit into its scheme of exact chronology; they give a quasi-scientific account on a cosmic scale, the great deep is broken up below, and heaven opened above; there is no anthropomorphism; we have the divine name Elohim, and P's favourite formulæ, "after his kind," "beast, cattle, creeping thing, fowl, bird," etc. On the other hand, in J we have graphic popular narrative, *e.g.*, the picturesque episode of the dove; anthropomorphism, the Lord, *i.e. Jehovah*, shuts up the ark; the divine name Jehovah, etc. In several instances the P paragraphs interrupt the connection between the J paragraphs, and *vice versâ*. The phrases in small capitals are assigned to the editor, because they do not seem to belong to their immediate context, and yet find no place in the other document.

Similar composite narratives and groups of laws occur in other books.

Thus, apart from the question of date and authorship, analysis is able to divide the Hexateuch into the four main documents, J, E, D, P; the exact division, however, of J and E being often difficult and uncertain. A similar analysis can be made of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.[1]

6. **Limitations of Analysis.**—The reader will have gathered that the task of analysing the historical books into the earlier documents from which they were compiled is a difficult one—by no means so impossible as it seems at first sight, but

[1] See §§ 29–32.

still sufficiently serious to tax the resources of criticism to the utmost. Moreover, though most useful and interesting results are obtained, the task can be only imperfectly fulfilled, and the analyses given here and elsewhere are not put forward as being accurate and complete in every detail. The main documents have certain characteristics, and portions containing these, and all that obviously belongs to such portions, may be confidently assigned to given sources. But there is a certain amount of neutral material which might have been written in any period; it is natural to assign such to the same source as its context, and yet it may have been borrowed from an earlier document, or added by a later editor. To take a practical illustration: when a section is assigned[1] to R^D or D, all that is meant is that the Deuteronomic characteristics are found in the passage and not those of the other sources. Hence it is mainly Deuteronomic, but may include phrases or sentences borrowed from earlier sources; or, again, information or laws obtained by the Deuteronomist from earlier sources, but expressed in his own language. On the other hand, a passage may be assigned to JE, without any intention of excluding the possibility that some neutral matter not essential to the original context may contain additions by later editors. In some cases a later writer, either unconsciously or as a matter of literary taste,[2] imitated the style of an earlier document.[3] It is often difficult to distinguish such imitations from the original, especially when they are largely made up of quotations from the document imitated.

In the analyses given in the following sections, space and clearness have necessitated the omission of many details.

[1] This kind of uncertainty is specially common as to parts of sections which are substantially Deuteronomic, because they make large use of earlier material; the work of the Priestly writers is more easily and certainly distinguished.

[2] As modern scholars write Ciceronian Latin. The Hebrew editors, etc. no more intended or expected their compositions to be taken for the work of the Jehovist or the Deuteronomist, than the author of a Latin essay to-day expects his essay to be ascribed to Cicero.

[3] *e.g.*, the Deuteronomic passages in Chronicles.

The origin of the longer sections has been given; the presence in such sections of phrases and verses from other sources has been indicated, where they contained anything important, either critically, historically, or in its bearing on the immediate context, otherwise such minutiæ of analysis have been ignored. Phrases, etc. have usually been assigned to the same source as their context, when it is not clear that they belong to other sources, attention being called to any uncertainty where important questions are involved. In this way it is hoped that the reader will be able to obtain an accurate conception of the analysis as a whole, without being bewildered by a multiplicity of detail.

7. **Sketch of Analysis.**—The following table is intended to serve as a rough diagram of the contents and distribution of the main sources of the Hexateuch. For the sake of simplicity, where the bulk of a chapter belongs to one source and a few verses to another, the chapter is reckoned to the main source. For the more detailed and exact analysis see "Contents" in §§ 23–32. Genesis xiv. and Deuteronomy xxxii., xxxiii. are omitted, as not belonging to the main sources. The division of J, E, D, and P into various strata is ignored. Sporadic editorial additions, *i.e.*, those which do not amount to a continuous revision, are also ignored :—

P and J Combined	Genesis 1–13, 15–19.
P and J E Combined	Genesis 20–50. Exodus 1–24. Numbers 11–16, 20, 21, 32. Joshua 22. Judges 20, 21.
P	Exodus 25–31, 35–40. Leviticus. Numbers 1–10, 17–19, 25–31, 33–36.

P and JED Combined	Deuteronomy 34. Joshua 13–21.
JED	Joshua 1–11. (Judges 2–8, 10–15.)[1]
JE	Exodus 32–34. Numbers 22–24. (Judges 9, 16–19.)[1] (i. and ii. Samuel.)[1 2] (i. Kings 1, 2.)[1]
J	Judges 1.
E	Joshua 24.[3] (i. Kings 20, 22.)[1] (ii. Kings 3?, 7, 9[3], 10[3])[1]
D	Deuteronomy 1–31. Joshua 12 and 23.
Deuteronomic Compilation from Older Sources *cf.* JE and E	i. and ii. Kings.

8. **Sketch of the Argument** for the post-exilic date of P and the order J and E, D, P. In the previous section we described the kind of evidence by which the composite character of the Hexateuch is established; we have now to show how the dates of the documents are determined. The arguments, alike for the analysis and for the theory of the dates and order of the documents, are cumulative. They

[1] The identification of the sources of Judges 2–21 and Samuel, and Kings with J and E is doubtful.

[2] Except poems and some other additions.

[3] Edited by R^D.

do not form a chain, which is worthless if one link is broken; they are rather like an array of pillars supporting a roof—the roof will stand, even though some of the pillars are weak or rotten. These arguments fall into five groups, which partially overlap: (i.) Historical Situation; (ii.) Theological Standpoint; (iii.) Relation to other O.T. Literature; (iv.) Vocabulary and Style; (v.) Mutual Relation of the Documents. These will be dealt with more fully in separate sections, but it may be useful to take a general view of them here.

(i.) *Historical Situation.*—J and E imply the historical situation of the Early Monarchy; D that of the Later Monarchy, connecting especially with the reforms of Josiah; P that of the exilic or post-exilic period, connecting especially with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah.

(ii.) *The Theological Standpoint* of each agrees with what we know of the theology of the period of its historical situation.

(iii.) *Relation to other O.T. Literature.*—J and E have points of contact with the literature before *c.* 650; D with the literature between *c.* 651 and the close of the Exile; P with the literature during and after the Exile. D is unknown before the Later Monarchy; P before the Exile.

(iv.) *Style and Vocabulary.*—The style and vocabulary of each is that of the period to which it is assigned by its historical situation.

(v.) *Mutual Relation of the Documents.*—J and E together, D, P represent three ascending stages of development; and P implies the prior existence of D, and D that of J and E.

9. **Argument from the Historical Situation.**—The laws in the Book of the Covenant (JE) are addressed to a people cultivating the land, and living in houses;[1] hence this code was compiled after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. It contemplates a more settled state of society than that

[1] Exodus xxi. 6, xxii. 5.

described in Judges, and therefore belongs to the Monarchy. It also recognises a multiplicity of sanctuaries, and lays no stress either on ritual or on any official priesthood. Thus we read in Exodus xx. 24–26:

"An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me . . . in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee."

The places referred to where Jehovah recorded His name are the holy places, Bethel, Beersheba, Gilgal, etc., consecrated by the appearances of Jehovah to the patriarchs, which are known in history as the "high places."[1] In these matters the Book of the Covenant reflects the practice of the time of the Judges and the Early Monarchy, when sacrifices were performed not only by priests, but by patriarchs,[2] heads of families,[3] judges,[4] and kings;[5] not merely at the Tabernacle or the Temple, but at many places,[6] especially, as Kings tells us repeatedly, at the high places.[7] The leaders and teachers of this period and the early writers, seem quite unconscious that they are transgressing any law; the adverse comments on their behaviour come from later writers. Thus, in these and other ways, the historical situation implied by the Prophetic Documents is that of the Early Monarchy.

Two chief points in the laws of Deuteronomy are: (*a*) the limitation of sacrifice to a single sanctuary, which is therefore the only legitimate temple of Jehovah, and (*b*) the limitation of the priesthood to the Levites. As we have just seen, there are no traces of such limitations under the earlier kings. But Amos, Hosea, and Micah attack the

[1] Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 19, Hos. x. 15; Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 33, Amos v. 5; Gilgal, Joshua iv. 20, v. 13 ff., Amos iv. 4.

[2] Jacob, Gen. xxxiii. 20.

[3] Manoah, Judges xiii. 19; Jesse, 1 Sam. xx. 29.

[4] Gideon, Judges vi. 24.

[5] Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 35; Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 4.

[6] Ophrah, Judges vi. 24; Ebenezer and Ramah, 1 Sam. vii. 9, 17; Gilgal, 1 Sam. xi. 15; Gibeon, 1 Kings iii. 4, etc.

[7] 1 Kings xv. 14, etc.

high places and their priests on account of immorality and superstition.[1] Hezekiah made an attempt to suppress the high places.[2] Isaiah's teaching as to the inviolability of Zion and the deliverance from Sennacherib enhanced the prestige of the Temple. Josiah's suppression of the high places was suggested by a law-book found in the Temple. This book was read by Shaphan to himself, and to the king, and read through publicly by the king to the people. Clearly the book was much shorter than our Pentateuch; but may very well have been an early edition of Deuteronomy. For the main object of Josiah's reforms, the establishment of the Temple as the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah, is one of the chief themes of Deuteronomy, and most of the details of his reformation are based upon laws in Deuteronomy.[3]

The northern kingdom had disappeared, and any point of Josiah's dominions lay within easy reach of Jerusalem, so that it seemed that a single sanctuary might suffice for the wants of the whole community. Thus the historical situation implied in Deuteronomy is that of the times of Josiah, the close of the Jewish Monarchy.

One distinctive feature of the Priestly Code is the limitation of the priesthood to the house of Aaron, the establishment of a dynasty of supreme pontiffs or high priests, and the assignment to the non-Aaronite Levites of the menial duties of the Temple service. There is no trace of this distinction between priests and Levites in Deuteronomy, or in the account given by Kings of Josiah's reforms, or in the prophecies of Jeremiah,[4] or in any earlier documents. But Ezekiel confines the priesthood to the priests of the Temple at Jerusalem, and degrades the priests of the high places, *i.e.*, the rest of the Levites, to the position of menial

[1] Hos. x. 8; Amos iv. 4 f.; Mic. i. 5 f.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[3] *Cf.* in 2 Kings xxiii. 4–7 with Deut. xii. 1–16; 8, 9 with Deut. xviii. 6–8 (the discrepancy is quite intelligible on practical grounds, and the author of Kings seems conscious of it); 24 with Deut. xviii. 11.

[4] Jeremiah speaks of "the priests, the Levites" (xxxiii. 18), and other places.

attendants.[1] Although, according to this arrangement, the priests were only a single clan of the tribe of Levi, it is stated that over four thousand priests returned after the Exile, but only seventy-four Levites.[2] Later on Ezra had great difficulty in inducing any Levites to accompany him to Jerusalem.[3] Naturally the subordinate position assigned to them by Ezekiel had slight attractions. In this and in other matters, and especially in the account of the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, we see that the historical situation implied by the Priestly Code is subsequent to the time of Ezekiel, and is that of the period after the Exile, and that this code is to be identified with the Law which Ezra brought to Jerusalem.[4] In every way the laws of the Priestly Code point to a time when the Temple, its services and priesthood, were the chief national institutions, and the main concern of the Jews. This was the case after the Exile, but not before.

10. **Argument from Theological Standpoint.**—There are special difficulties in the application of this argument; the line of development of Israelite theology is not fully determined, and chronological landmarks are more difficult to find in the case of doctrines than in the more concrete matters of temple and priesthood. Yet some points are clear, and make for the theory now being explained. The frank anthropomorphisms of J, and in a less degree of E, would naturally indicate an early stage in the religion of Israel; and the stress laid in these documents upon the dramatic interest of the narratives points to their proximity to the primitive tradition. Thus and otherwise the theology of J and E is consistent with a date in the Early Monarchy, or even earlier.

[1] Ezek. xliv. 10–16. [2] Ezra ii. 36–40. [3] Ezra viii.

[4] *e.g.*, after the Exile there were no Jewish kings till the Maccabees, and the head of the community was the High Priest; so in the Priestly Code the greatest possible emphasis is laid on the supreme position of the High Priest, while the king is ignored. In Neh. viii. 18, the Feast of Tabernacles is kept for eight days, in accordance with Lev. xxiii. 39 (P), as against the seven days of Deut. xvi. 13–15. In Neh. x. 37 f., the people pay tithes to the Levites, and the Levites to the priests in accordance with Num. xviii. 20–26. The Deuteronomic arrangements for tithes are quite different.

As Deuteronomy provides for a single sanctuary and a single priestly tribe, so it also asserts expressly and emphatically the unity of the Godhead: "Hear, O Israel, thy God, Jehovah, is one God."[1] This express statement is the natural sequel to the attack of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah upon the popular worship of Jehovah as one among many gods, and prepares the way for the detailed exposition of monotheism in Isaiah xl.–lv.

Similarly there are many features in the Priestly Code which are best explained by assigning it to the post-exilic stage of Israelite religion, *e.g.*, the scrupulous avoidance of all anthropomorphism, the numerous traces of systematic thought and method in the priestly versions of the narratives, the stress on the "holiness" of Israel, and the practical application of the principle to an elaborate system of minute external observances.[2]

11. **Argument from Literary Parallels.**—Points of contact with J and E are found in the prophets of the eighth century.[3] Hosea refers to Jacob's wrestling with the angel;[4] Amos and Isaiah to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah;[5] Micah to "the land of Nimrod," and to the history of Balaam and Balak.[6]

On the other hand, documents before *c.* 680–630[7] afford no evidence that their authors were acquainted with Deuteronomy, or P.

[1] Deut. vi. 4.

[2] Early ritual is often elaborate, and so far the priestly ritual might be early, and doubtless is partly based on primitive custom. But we know that enthusiasm for ritual was rife and increasing after the Exile, and the spiritual and scientific treatment of the subject points to the later date.

[3] Of course, points of contact between two documents are evidence of the date of the one document only when the date of the other is known. So that for this purpose we can only use passages whose dates are fairly certain.

[4] Gen. xxxii. 22–32; Hos. xii. 2–6.

[5] Gen. xix.; Isaiah i. 9; Amos iv. 11.

[6] Mic. v. 6, vi. 1–8; Gen. x. 8, 9; Num. xxii.–xxiv.

[7] Approximate limits to the date of Deuteronomy as composed shortly before 621.

This statement would be challenged by some, space does not allow us to deal with it in detail; but as the treatment of the argument from literary parallels is very difficult, and needs much discrimination, it may be as well to say a few words on the subject, in order to show what is the point at issue. Parallels between the Pentateuch and early literature are often cited as arguments against this theory, although they are quite irrelevant for some such reasons as the following:—

(i.) Only references in early literature to characteristic features of Deuteronomy and P could be used as arguments against the current (Grafian) theory; for that theory holds that J and E were early, at any rate in their original form, and that D and P also use earlier material, and that many of the customs and rites dealt with were much more ancient than these documents. Hence it is quite consistent with the Grafian theory that early literature should refer to J and E and to some matters found in D and P, and that sacrifices, feasts, etc. dealt with in D and P should have existed long before the dates assigned to these documents.

(ii.) Many alleged parallels are entirely irrelevant, and are only such as must naturally exist between works in the same language, by authors of the same race, acquainted with the history and literature, customs and traditions which were earlier than both of them. Thus we should not maintain that the parallels between J and E, and Amos, Hosea, and Micah are necessarily proofs that the prophets were acquainted with those documents.

(iii.) In considering two similar passages, A and B, there are at least three possible explanations of their resemblance. A may be dependent on B, or B on A, or both A and B may be dependent on something prior to both of them. A critic with a theory—and everybody starts with a prepossession in favour of some theory—is tempted to take for granted that the relation of the parallel passages is in accordance with his theory. If he holds that B is older than A, it seems to him that A is so obviously dependent on B, that this dependence proves the early date of B. But, as a rule, it is very difficult to determine which of two similar passages is dependent on the other. Often the question can only be settled by our *knowledge* that one passage is taken from an earlier work than the other; and where we do not possess such knowledge the priority is quite uncertain, and a comparison of the passages yields little or no evidence as to the date of the documents in which they occur.

(iv.) When a body of literature is known to belong to a certain period, and a document has numerous parallels to this literature, it probably belongs to the same period. It may be an earlier work used by the authors of the literature in question, or a later work which has used this literature; but it is easier to verify or eliminate these possibilities than to decide between the alternatives in the previous paragraph.

(v.) Where a work is known to be composite, a literary parallel to one section affords no direct evidence of the date of other sections.[1]

[1] These considerations have to be borne in mind in studying the various attempts to show that the complete Pentateuch was known to almost all O.T. writers. For instance, it is for these reasons that *Lex Mosaica*, though a very useful and interesting study of the literary relations of the Pentateuch, affords no real evidence against the Grafian theory.

But Deuteronomy is very closely connected by numerous points of contact with the literature of the close of the Jewish monarchy and the beginning of the Exile. The parallels with Jeremiah are so striking that the prophet has sometimes been credited with the authorship of Deuteronomy. Investigation does not confirm this impression, but the resemblance shows that Deuteronomy and the prophecies belong to the same period, *e.g.*, the term, "the Priests, the Levites" — unknown to earlier literature—is characteristic of both and of Ezekiel. Again the Book of Kings assumed its present form during this period. In the editorial notes the editor writes from the Deuteronomic standpoint that the Temple is the only legitimate sanctuary. Also Deuteronomy exercises a very marked influence on exilic and post-exilic literature.

The Law of Holiness, H or P^1, is even more closely connected with Ezekiel xl.–xlviii. than Deuteronomy with Jeremiah. Although it is not likely that Ezekiel compiled this code, its editor probably belonged to the same priestly circle, so that the code may be assigned to about the beginning of the Exile.

The characteristics of the Priestly Code proper, P or P^2, have affinities with the earlier, and influence the later post-exilic literature. The distinction between the priests, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites—a special feature of P—first appears in Ezekiel xliv., where the prophet ordains that the priesthood is to be confined to the Jerusalem Levites of the house of Zadok, and that the other Levites, the priests of the high places, are to be degraded to the level of menial attendants. In the Priestly Code the claims of the Levites to rank with the Jerusalem priests, the fact that their position was a menial one to which they had been degraded, are entirely forgotten, and their ministry is held to be a long-established privilege. Evidently a considerable interval separated the Priestly Code from Ezekiel.[1] Numbers

[1] *Cf.* § 9.

xvi., *q.v.* (Korah, Dathan, and Abiram), was unknown in its present form to the authors of Deuteronomy xi. 6, Psalm cvi. 17 (post-exilic), who speak of Dathan and Abiram, *without* Korah. Chronicles is acquainted with the legal institutions, etc. of all the documents of the Hexateuch, and thus affords conclusive evidence that our Pentateuch and Joshua existed, substantially in their present form, before B.C. 300–250.

12. **The Linguistic Argument.**—A careful examination of the lists in Driver's *Introduction*, in the articles in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, etc. will show that, not only in subject matter, but also in vocabulary and idiom, Deuteronomy resembles Jeremiah, and P resembles the exilic and post-exilic literature. Thus JE and D agree with the earlier literature in preferring the longer form *'ānōkhî* for the personal pronoun "I," while P agrees with the later literature in preferring the shorter *'ănî*.

The use in the Pentateuch (not in Joshua) of forms which elsewhere are exclusively masculine, for both masculine and feminine, is not a proof of antiquity, but due to the fact that the text of the Pentateuch has been treated differently from that of the other books. In some MSS. the usage is found outside the Pentateuch.[1]

13. **Argument from the Mutual Relations of the Documents.**—An examination of the documents shows that they are arranged by our theory in the natural order of development, that J and E are the most primitive, H and P the most mature, and that D occupies an intermediate position. Thus J and E take little interest in ritual, which occupies much of the attention of D and H, and is almost the sole interest of P. In J and E any Israelite may be a priest; in D the priesthood is confined to the Levites; in H, the Levites are not named, the priests are the "Sons of Aaron," and the high priest first

[1] DRIVER'S *Leviticus*, pp. 25, 26.

appears;[1] in P the exceptional sanctity and authority of the priests as compared with the Levites, and of the high priest as compared with the priests, are further elaborated and emphasised. Again, as to the slaughter of animals for food and sacrifice, in J and E, animals may be killed, and sacrifices offered anywhere; in D they may be slaughtered anywhere, but only sacrificed at the "place which Jehovah chooses,"[2] *i.e.*, the Temple. Similarly, as we pass from J and E to D and P, the feasts become more numerous, and are kept for a longer time,[3] and with a more precise ritual. So, too, the provision made for the priests and the Temple grows as we pass from J and E, to D, and then to P. J and E provide for firstfruits and firstlings,[4] and for tithes in connection with the Temple at Bethel.[5] Deuteronomy defines the tithes, a yearly tithe, to be spent in sacrificing and feasting at the Temple at Jerusalem, and a tithe, to be taken every third year, and given to the poor and the Levites.[6] The Priestly Code assigns the tithes to the Levites, and a tenth of them to the priests; gives thirty-five cities to the Levites and thirteen to the priests, and also gives to the priests the firstfruits, firstlings, most of the sacrifices and offerings, and a poll-tax of half a shekel.[7] Many similar illustrations might be given of the way in which the documents taken in the order J and E, D, P present consecutive stages in the natural movement of national life.

Moreover, the literary relationship between the documents

[1] No doubt each of the different priesthoods at Jerusalem and elsewhere always had a chief priest as a necessary practical arrangement, but the recognition of the high priesthood, as a special divine institution of exceptional sanctity, first appears in H, unless, indeed, the passages referring to a high priest are among the additions made to H by P.

[2] Deut. xii.

[3] Deut. xvi. 13–15 first directs that Tabernacles shall be observed seven days; P adds an eighth day, Num. xxix. 35. P also introduces the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, Lev. xxiii.

[4] Exodus xxii. 29 f. [5] Gen. xxviii. 22, E.

[6] xiv. 22–29, xxvi. 12–15.

[7] Exodus xxx. 11–16; Lev. vii., xxvii.; Num. xv., xviii., xxxv.; Joshua xxi.

is in favour of this order.[1] The numerous parallels between the Book of the Covenant, JE, and D and P (especially H) are best accounted for by supposing that D and P knew JE. The shorter and simpler code in JE cannot be a selection from the larger and more elaborate D and P. The historical retrospects in Deuteronomy are largely a cento of material from JE.[2]

The parallels between D and P, however, may perhaps be explained by supposing that both D and P used the same earlier material. It is doubtful whether, as a matter purely of literary dependence, it can be shown that P was acquainted with D.[3]

14. The Judæan Prophetic Document, J.

(a) *Analysis.*—J was compiled from older documents and traditions, which sometimes contradicted each other. From these contradictions J is sometimes[4] analysed into earlier documents and additions by the compiler of J. Thus J has been separated into an older work J^1, *c.* 850, and other material added *c.* 650, J^2. Thus[5] the narratives of the Creation and the Fall are given to J^1, and that of Cain and Abel to J^2.

(b) *Place of Composition.*—The emphasis on the sojournings of Abraham at Hebron, and the interest in Judah in Genesis—according to J, Judah is the firstborn—and similar

[1] *Cf.*, however, pp. 39 ff. Although the dependence of the other sources on J and E seems absolutely certain, and the relation of D and P to each other and to J and E seems to imply the priority of D, more uncertainty attaches to the application of this piece of evidence than to some others, especially as regards the relation of D to P.

[2] i. 6–iii. 29, ix. 6–x. 11, *cf.* the tables. — DRIVER'S *Introduction*, pp. 73, 80. Chapters i.–iv., if not part of Josiah's law-book, were added soon after.

[3] Such acquaintance is shown, however, according to our theory, from other evidence.

[4] The different elements are denoted by J^1, J^2, etc.; the editorial matter by J or R^J.

[5] *e.g.*, BALL'S Genesis in Dr. PAUL HAUPT'S *Sacred Books of O.T.* and *Polychrome Bible.*

features suggest that J was compiled in Judah.[1] Some, however, have held that J or its original edition was compiled in the northern kingdom.[2]

(c) *Date.*—Priority to Deuteronomy gives us a date before 621; the earliest possible date would be the final establishment of the Monarchy under David, *c.* 1000; but the dates assigned to J usually lie between 900 and 650. The religious attitude suggests the period of prophetic activity which began with Elijah, and was later on represented in Judah by the prophets of the eighth century rather than a less advanced age. If J is used throughout Samuel, we have further evidence that the document is later than the events recorded in that book, though it probably contains much older material.

J is dated thus: Addis, I., lxxxii. 850–750; Cornill, J^1 850, J^2 700; Driver, p. 118, "early centuries of the monarchy"; Haupt, etc., J^1 850, J^2 650; Kautzsch, 850; König, p. 206, "after David"; Kuenen, J^1 800, J^2 650; Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 13, "in the course of the Assyrian period." All the above dates are approximate. Gunkel, p. lxiv., dates J in ninth century.

(d) *Contents.*—J forms a quasi-anecdotal history of Israel and its ancestors from the Creation to the Conquest, perhaps to the death of David. It is found in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy xxxiv., Joshua, Judges, and perhaps Samuel. The editor incorporated some laws, *e.g.*, Exodus xxxiv. 10–27, and ancient lyrics, *e.g.*, the blessing of Jacob, Genesis xlix.[3]

(e) *Characteristics.*—J uses Jehovah in Genesis, prefers the name Israel for the patriarch, calls the sacred mountain Sinai, and the inhabitants of Palestine Canaanites. He delights in etymologies of personal and place names. J's narratives are graphic, popular, and dramatic; they are told for the interest of the stories. At the same time, the religious sense of the narrator is quick to seize and set forth moral and spiritual teaching, yet not so as to mar the picturesque charm of his prose poems. The theology is primitive in

[1] DILLMANN, p. 626; DRIVER, "relatively probable," p. 116; HAUPT. [2] KUENEN, p. 230. [3] Probably.

its frank anthropomorphism and other matters, yet somewhat advanced in its deliberate and conscious monotheism and its teaching that suffering is the consequence of sin. As to worship, J speaks of the high places, of sacred trees, without any consciousness of their being illegitimate.

15. The Ephraimitic Prophetic Document, E.

(a) *Analysis.*—E also has been analysed into various strata, E^1, E^2, E^3, *cf.* on Date.

(b) *Place of Composition.*—E, or, at any rate, its original edition E^1, was compiled in the northern kingdom. It is specially interested in Joseph, the ancestor of Ephraim, and in the Ephraimitic hero, Joshua. Reuben, which belonged to the northern kingdom, is the firstborn of Israel. If there is a later stratum E^2, it probably originated in Judah.

(c) *Relative Age of J and E.*—J is usually[1] regarded as the older. Its anthropomorphism and its theology generally seem the more primitive, while E's theory of the origin and meaning of the name Jehovah,[2] its avoidance of that name in Genesis, its conception of Abraham as a prophet, and its use of earlier works, such as the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, point to a somewhat advanced stage of religious reflection on custom and tradition. A few scholars, however, regard E as the earlier.[3] Some again hold that E used J or J^1.[4] If the analysis of J and E into strata is accepted, the problem of priority becomes very complicated. But we may say that primitive elements are more conspicuous in J, and later developments in E.

(d) *Date.*—As an Ephraimitic work, E, or at any rate its original edition E^1, must have been compiled some time before the Fall of Samaria, 721, *i.e.*, not later than 750; and if it is later than J, and refers to Elisha, it cannot be

[1] Cornill, J^1, Kautzsch, Kuenen.

[2] Exodus iii. 14, 15.

[3] Dillmann, etc. Some of the passages cited by him as evidence of the late date of J are referred by others to J^2 or R^{Je}.

[4] Kuenen, p. 248.

much earlier. Similar considerations to those which affect J have led most critics to date E, or E^1, between 850 and 750.

E is dated thus: Addis, I., lxxxii. 850–750; Cornill, E^1 750, E^2 650; Driver, p. 118, "early centuries of the monarchy"; Haupt, etc., E^1 750, E^2 650; Kautzsch, 775; König, p. 205, "period of the Judges"; Kuenen, p. 248, E^1 750, E^2 650. Gunkel, p. lxiv., dates E B.C. 800–750.

(e) *Contents.*—E is a history of Israel, similar to, but more systematic than J, beginning with the incident of Abraham and Abimelech in Genesis xx., and extending certainly to the close of Joshua, and perhaps as far as the Elisha narratives in Kings. It also incorporates ancient poems, *e.g.*, some of the Balaam oracles, and laws, *e.g.*, the Book of the Covenant.[1]

(f) *Characteristics.* — E partially agrees with J in the following points: Its narratives still show a popular interest in the story as a story, but there are more formal and obvious signs of didactic purpose; according to E, also, high places and sacred trees were a legitimate feature of Israelite religion. But E uses Elohim (in Genesis), not Jehovah; Jacob rather than Israel; Horeb, not Sinai; Amorites, not Canaanites. The sacred pillar, or *maṣṣeba*, occurs frequently in his narrative. Anthropomorphism, if not entirely absent, is far less marked than in J. God reveals Himself in dreams, or through angels; He acts through them, or by means, like Moses' rod, which do not attribute to Him ordinary human acts, such as the walking, sewing, shutting of a door, etc., found in J. In other ways, too, the conscious formulating of religious truth seems more advanced, *e.g.*, the express condemnation of idolatry is constantly in the writer's mind: Jacob buries the family idols;[2] the first commandment forbids the making of idols;[3] Joshua induces the people to put away their idols.[4] If the Book of the Covenant and connected sections were included by E in his work, it shows a more direct interest in social order than J.

[1] Probably, *cf.* on Num. xxiii. f.; Exodus xx. ff.

[2] Gen. xxxv. 4. [3] Exodus xx. 3. [4] xxiv. 14.

16. The Combined Prophetic Document, JE.

(a) *Analysis.*—The combination of J and E was a process, the work of a school; but it is no longer possible to distinguish its stages.

(b) *Place of Composition.*—Judah.

(c) *Date.*—This process is, of course, later than the last editions of J and E, used in the compilation, *i.e.*, probably after 650. It is difficult to fix the later limit, J and E seem to have been known separately to D^1, and can perhaps be traced later; but it does not follow that JE was compiled after D^1. At first, especially amongst the more conservative, the older separate works would retain their authority, while JE was ignored as a modern innovation. Some passages assigned to R^{JE}, the editor who combined J and E, are so much in the style of the Deuteronomic editors, D^2 or R^D, that it is often difficut to say whether a passage belongs to R^{JE} or R^D. Hence it has been suggested that R^D and R^{JE} are identical, *i.e.*, that two stages of the development, J + E = JE, JE + D = JED, may be replaced by the single stage J + E + D. But the close interweaving of J and E, and the ease with which D can be separated from them, negative this view. The resemblance shows that J and E were combined during the period dominated by the influence of Deuteronomy. Yet, in spite of resemblances, JE is comparatively independent of D^1, and has by no means broken loose from the primitive ideas of religion and history to the same extent as D^2. The combined document JED was probably compiled during the Exile. Hence a pre-exilic date, 650–586, seems suitable for JE.

JE is dated: Cornill, 650–621; Driver, p. 109, about the eighth century; Haupt, *c.* 640; Kautzsch, *c.* 650; Kuenen, p. 249, "close of the seventh or opening of the sixth century."

(d) *Method of Combination.*—It is possible that R^{JE} used other documents besides J and E. Which editor first included in his work any given lyric, or other section not an integral part of the main sources, is often very difficult to determine.

R^{JE} combined his materials with great care and skill, so that it is often quite impossible to disentangle them with any confidence. The way in which P and J are combined in the account of the Flood also illustrates the combination of J and E, except that the latter are the more ingeniously and intricately interwoven. R^{JE}'s general principle was to make up his narrative of sections taken unaltered from the sources, but much has clearly been omitted. It is seldom that a narrative can be resolved into two parallel accounts, each complete in itself. Where the sources were virtually identical, repetition has been avoided by omitting material from one of them. Much has probably been cut out that seemed unedifying in the light of the fuller revelation of the Deuteronomic age. Moreover, there are additions; in piecing together the documents, connecting phrases were often necessary, and the redactor has modified and inserted to suit the ideas and teaching of his times. There is a certain amount of material clearly not Deuteronomic, and more closely united with J and E passages than the Deuteronomic additions usually are, and yet more akin to Deuteronomy than to the more primitive J and E. Such additions are probably R^{JE}, though perhaps some of them might be assigned with equal reason to the final editors of J and E. Of course, R^{JE} was not careful to see that editorial insertions in J were in J's style, and in E in E's style, but sometimes uses J words and phrases in his additions to E passages, and *vice versâ*. Hence the work of this editor has seriously added to the difficulty of separating J and E, and also accounts for the sporadic occurrence of J characteristics in sections clearly belonging to E, and *vice versâ*.

17. Deuteronomic Material, D.

(a) *Analysis.*—The contents of Josiah's law-book are denoted by D or D^1, and the later additions to this document, and the insertions in Joshua, Kings, etc. made by editors writing in the style and spirit of D, are denoted by R^D, D^2, D^3, etc.

(b) *Place of Composition.*—The earlier portions were composed in Judah, the later in Babylonia.

(c) *Date.*—Josiah's law-book was composed some time before its publication in 621, and some time after J and E, upon which it is dependent, and also after the prophets of the eighth century. The latter know nothing of Deuteronomy, while Deuteronomy gives practical effect to their attack on the high places by limiting sacrifice to the Temple. Further, the attempt to give exclusive rights to a single sanctuary is more probable after the fall of the northern kingdom. The Temple might serve the small area of the southern kingdom. Thus everything points to a date between 722 and 621. The anti-prophetic policy of Manasseh and the almost entire absence of literature belonging to his reign, *c.* 698–643, would account for the lack of any traces of the existence of Deuteronomy between 700–621.

D^1 is dated thus: Addis, ii. 9, 701–621; Cornill, "shortly before 621"; Driver, p. 87, in Sixth Edition, text and note, "not later than the reign of Manasseh," "the century before 621"; Kautzsch, *c.* 628; König, p. 217, "soon after 722"; Kuenen, p. 220, "Josiah's reign"; Wellhausen, *History*, p. 13, "close of Assyrian period."

D^2, etc., *i.e.*, the additions made to D^1 in Deuteronomy, and the insertions by Deuteronomic editors in Joshua–Kings belong substantially to the period between 621 and the close of the Exile. In the Deuteronomic edition of the Book of Kings,[1] the last event mentioned is the release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach in 561. The post-exilic additions to Joshua–Kings mostly bear the stamp of P, not of D. Chronicles, naturally, contains material borrowed from or in imitation of Deuteronomy.

D^2 is dated thus: Cornill, Second Half of Exile; Haupt, 560–540; Kautzsch, 561–538

(d) *Contents.*—D^1 certainly contained Deuteronomy xii.–xxvi., probably v.–xi. and xxviii., less probably i.–iv.[2] To

[1] *i.e.*, our present book.

[2] As to these passages see § 27 on Deuteronomy. Later editorial insertions are not taken into account.

D^2 are assigned all of Deuteronomy i.–xxx. which does not belong to D^1, a very small amount of material in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Samuel, and considerable portions of Joshua, Judges, and Kings.[1]

(e) *Characteristics.*—The Deuteronomic writers compose codes, exhortations to obedience; they provide earlier history with chronological framework and religious comment; only in Kings do they themselves write history. The historical retrospects in Deuteronomy are mere abstracts from JE, and are only introduced as a setting for the laws and exhortations. The Deuteronomic narratives in Joshua merely adapt JE to the Deuteronomic theory of the history that Joshua carefully observed the Law of Moses, *i.e.*, Deuteronomy, and completely conquered Canaan, and cleared it of its inhabitants.

D, like E, uses the names Amorite and Horeb. Favourite phrases are "God of Israel," "Thy God," also perhaps found in R^{JE}. Its main theme is the purification of worship by the suppression of the high places, by making the Temple the only sanctuary of Jehovah, and by doing away with idols, *maṣṣebas*, and all the paraphernalia of superstition. But it also enacts laws in favour of the social equity and benevolence inculcated by the prophets, and formally recognises the prophetic order.

18. The Deuteronomic History and Laws of Israel, JED.

(a) *Analysis.*—D^2, considered in the previous section, might be divided into: (i.) additions made to D^1 *before* it was combined with JE; (ii.) additions made to JE and D in the process of combination; (iii.) additions made to the threefold work JED *after* the combination had been effected. R^D is often appropriately used alike for (ii.), and for the Deuteronomic editor who inserted (ii.).[2] R^D, like

[1] D^2 is used here for all Deuteronomic material later than D^1.

[2] (i.), (ii.), (iii.) can only be distinguished rarely and partially, so that R^D and D^2 are often used as equivalent.

R^{JE}, stands for a school and a process, but the different stages and hands are only very imperfectly determined.

(b) *Place of Composition*,[1] Babylonia.

(c) *Date*.[1]—The Exile.

(d) *Scope and Method*.—The portion of JE extending from the Creation to the close of Numbers was only slightly modified by R^{D}. At this point he inserted the Deuteronomic Code and its connected exhortations. Possibly the Book of the Covenant originally occupied the place of Deuteronomy, and was transferred by R^{D} to its present position in the account of the sojourn at Sinai.[2] Another interesting suggestion is that for a time two editions of Deuteronomy were current, one consisting of xii.–xxvi. with v.–xi. for an introduction, and the other of xii.–xxvi. with i. 1–iv. 40 for an introduction. If so, part of R^{D}'s work was the fusion of these two editions. He also added to D^{1} other material, either his own or borrowed. He dealt very freely with Joshua, providing it with an ample framework which gave a view of the history very different from that of JE. But, at the same time, he retained so much of JE unaltered, that JE's view is still plain, namely, that the land was only partially conquered, and that the inhabitants were *not* extirpated.

It is not certain that the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings[3] should be reckoned as entirely one with that of JED. If JE extended to the times of Elisha, it seems probable that it was. If the documentary connection between the Hexateuch and these later books is confined to the use of J^{1} in Judges i., it seems more likely that the editing of JED and that of the Deuteronomic editions of Judges–Kings were two independent pieces of work, though carried out by the same school. Even in this latter case R^{D} is a sufficiently elastic symbol to be used for the

[1] *Cf.* (b), (c) of previous section. KUENEN, pp. 270 f., admits that R^{D} may be post-exilic, but regards an exilic date as more probable.

[2] KUENEN, p. 258.

[3] Here and elsewhere, Judges–Kings does not include Ruth.

editor of Judges–Kings and for his insertions, etc. In Judges and Kings he supplies a framework and religious comments; his contributions in Samuel are much slighter.

R^D may also have omitted portions of JE as unedifying, may possibly have had access to the separate J and E, and restored sections omitted by R^{JE}. Possibly, too, R^D is responsible for the insertion of some of the poems.

19. The Law of Holiness, H or P^I.

(a) *Analysis and Contents.*—In addition to Leviticus xvii.–xxvi., portions of Leviticus xi., etc. have been assigned to H. This document was a compilation from older codes, and either H or some of its sources seems to have been dependent on the Book of the Covenant. H, as we now have it, contains additions made by the editor who incorporated it in the Priestly Code, and perhaps by others.

(b) *Date and Place of Composition.* — H has points of contact both with D^I and the Priestly Code, but is very closely connected with Ezekiel xl.–xlviii. Though not composed by that prophet, it probably emanated from the priestly circle to which he belonged. Like Ezekiel xl.–xlviii., it forms an intermediate stage between D^I and the Priestly Code, and was compiled in Babylonia during the Exile. Its sources were pre-exilic, and may be in part older than D^I.

H or P^I is dated: Cornill, second half of the Exile; Driver, pp. 138, 143, shortly before the Exile, H was known by Ezekiel; Haupt, *Sacred Books of O.T.*, 570; Holzinger, pp. 447 f., immediately *after* the Exile, in Babylonia; Kautzsch, c. 561; Kuenen, p. 276, towards the end of the Exile.

(c) *Characteristics.*—H seeks to secure that Israel shall be "holy," *i.e.*, that condition and conduct shall be worthy of the people's unique relation to Jehovah. It therefore lays down rules for ceremonial purity and moral life. Its keynote is the root *QDSh* underlying the Hebrew words translated "holy," "holiness," "sanctity." These words

occur with special frequency in H, and the reason for demanding "holiness" is again and again expressed in the phrases, "I am Jehovah," "I am Jehovah, your God," etc., and is expressed fully in Leviticus xi. 45, "I am Jehovah, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt, that I might be your God; ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy." H agrees with D^1 against P^2: (i.) in making no mention of the inferior order of the priestly tribe—the Levites; (ii.) in insisting, expressly and with great emphasis, on the limitation of sacrifice to a single sanctuary, which P^2 takes for granted; (iii.) in legislating expressly for the people settled in Canaan.

Although the headings connect H with Moses and Sinai, there is no attempt, as in P^2, to write from the standpoint of the camp in the wilderness. Thus Leviticus xxv. 29, "If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city," *cf.* Deuteronomy xxii. 8, "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof." Both passages take for granted city-life in Palestine. In parts D^1 writes as if on the eve of the conquest, but takes no trouble to maintain this standpoint.

But H agrees with P^2, against D^1, in its interest in manifold details concerning sacred acts, persons, places, times, and instruments, *i.e.*, those specially connected with the external observances of religion.

20. **The Priestly Code, P,** incorporating the Law of Holiness, H.

(a) *Analysis.*—P is commonly used for the whole of the composite document, which includes (i.) H or P^1; (ii.) the Priestly Code proper, or P^2; (iii.) later additions, P^3 or P^x. As P^2 itself is partly based on earlier documents, it is often difficult to say whether a particular passage which seems earlier than the time of compilation of P^2 belongs to one of the sources of P^2, or to H.

(b) *Mode of Composition.*—It is commonly held that P^2 was composed independently of H, and that the two were subsequently united. Possibly, however, the author of P^2

made H the nucleus of his work.[1] Additions were further made to H + P^2 by later writers, and also, of course, by the editor who combined them.

(c) *Date and Place of Composition.*[2]—P^2 was composed in Babylonia after the Exile and before the mission of Ezra to Jerusalem in 458; after the Exile, because there are no traces of its special characteristics in history or literature before this period, and because it marks an advance on Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and H; before Ezra's mission, because it is part of the Law promulgated by him.[3] H and P^2 were also combined in Babylonia before 458, as H seems to have formed part of the Law promulgated by him in 444, and it seems scarcely likely that he combined H and P^2 between 458 and 444. It is a natural supposition that Ezra was either the author of P^2, or the editor who combined H and P^2; but it is nothing more.[4] Later additions to P as a separate work must have been made in Judah between 444 and 400.

According to Addis, I., lxxxiii., P^2 about the time of Ezra; Cornill, P^2 *c.* 500, union of P^1 and P^2 before 458; Driver, p. 129, P^2 "belongs approximately to the period of the Babylonian captivity"; Haupt, P^2 *c.* 500; Holzinger, p. 442, P^2 the very beginning of the fifth century at latest, p. 453, H and P^2 united in Babylonia, before 458; Ezra had no hand either in the compilation of P^2, or in its union with H; Kautzsch, P^2 *c.* 500, united with H, *c.* 458; Kuenen, p. 303 f., P^2 500–475; Gray, *Num.*, p. xxxi., dates P^G (P^2), *c.* 500.

(d) *Contents.*—P is a code in the form of a constitutional history of Israel; a collection of laws and precedents, with the circumstances under which they were instituted. It begins with the Sabbath, as sanctioned by the example of God at the

[1] I have not noticed this suggestion elsewhere, but it is so obvious that it must have been made before, and set aside on account of the many difficulties it involves. It does not seem, however, out of the range of possibility.

[2] For H see previous section.

[3] *Cf.* §§ 8–13.

[4] We can scarcely suppose with MEYER, *Entstehung*, etc., that the phrase, "scribe (*sōphēr*) of the Law," is intended to mean "*author* of the Law."

Creation, and follows the course of events to the division of Canaan amongst the tribes by Joshua. It includes a large part of Genesis, the greater part of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua xiii.–xxii., all Leviticus, and a few verses at the close of Deuteronomy and in Joshua i.–xi.

In Judges–Kings there are a small series of passages written under the influence of P, while Chronicles might be described as the priestly substitute for Joshua–Kings.

(e) *Characteristics.*[1]—There is a large number of words, phrases, and idioms found only or chiefly in P, or in P and Ezekiel and post-exilic literature.

P, often like Haggai and Zechariah, denotes the months by *numbers* instead of names; it follows the post-exilic usage of writing *'ănî* almost always for "I," whereas in pre-exilic works *'ānōkhî* is as common or commoner, so in JE. *'Edâ*, in the sense of *assembly*, is almost, if not entirely, confined to P and post-exilic writers; *'ēduth*, *testimony*, of the tables of the Law, occurs only in P, etc.; *cf.* table in Driver, pp. 123 ff.

It is fond of repeating the same formulæ again and again in the same or successive sections, and has all the technical verbosity of legal documents.

Thus in Genesis i., "Evening and morning were the —th day," "And God saw that it was good," etc.; in Genesis v., "And — lived — years and begat —" etc.; in Numbers vii., "On the — day —: his oblation was," etc.; but *cf.* Amos i.

P[2] gives the laws with the circumstances of their origin, and with an account of the first instances of their observance. Thus, as the laws for the high priesthood are regarded as resting on the authority of Moses, they are given as addressed to Aaron, and we are told how they were carried out in the first instance by Aaron. In the same way the laws for the Temple and its furniture are given as addressed to the Israelites in the wilderness by Moses, and we are told how they were obeyed in the construction of the Tabernacle. All this represents a *bonâ fide* belief that the principles of the laws for the priesthood and the Temple were Mosaic, and that

[1] *Cf.* § 20.

the period immediately after the Exodus furnished precedents for some such laws. P^2 considers each law, etc. as an entirely new revelation at the time at which it is recorded. Thus in Exodus vi. 2–12 the Divine Name, Jehovah, is a new revelation; consequently it is never used in Genesis. Again sacrifices, the distinction of clean and unclean animals and meats, etc. were new revelations, and unknown before Moses. Hence in P the patriarchs do not sacrifice, although they do in JE; and P's account of the Flood ignores the distinction made by J between clean and unclean animals.

P follows J in speaking of the mount of the Law as Sinai. While P^2 shares with H and Ezekiel their interest in the buildings, furniture, services, and priesthood of the Temple, and in ceremonial observances generally, it introduces several new features, *e.g.*, the distinction between priests and Levites,[1] and the Day of Atonement,[2] which is completion of a system of graduated sanctity, reaching its climax in a single point, *temporal* sanctity in the Day of Atonement, *local* sanctity in the Holy of Holies, *personal* sanctity in the high priest. P^2 takes the greatest pains to avoid anthropomorphism. Further, P^2 closely resembles Chronicles in its love of system and statistics; it provides the Pentateuch with a complete and consecutive chronology and set of genealogies, and gives in detail the specifications of the Ark and the Tabernacle.

21. The Completion of the Pentateuch, and the earlier Historical Books.

(a) *Form of JED and P before Combination.*—If JE only extended to the death of Joshua, then JED and the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings were separate from the beginning, and there is no reason why a Deuteronomic editor

[1] A development from Ezekiel xliv. 10–16. In Ezekiel the status of the Levites is a *degradation*, newly ordained on account of their share in the corrupt worship of the high places; in P^2 the status is an old-established *privilege*.

[2] Leviticus xvi., also a development from Ezekiel xlv. 18–20, who appoints two similar days.

should have separated the Joshua sections from the rest of JED. But if JE extended to the times of Elisha, JED might include the whole Deuteronomic history, as a single work from the Creation to the fall of the Monarchy. This long book would naturally be divided into sections, and the death of Moses would be a suitable close for the first of these.

Again P extended to the death of Joshua, but since it was promulgated as the Law of Moses,[1] the Joshua sections may have been separated before the promulgation.

Thus, when $R^{P\,2}$ set to work to combine JED and P^{s}, either (i.) the Joshua sections had already been separated from either or both documents; or (ii.) both documents still included the Joshua sections, and JED may have also contained the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings.

(b) *Method.*—If the Joshua sections had already been severed from JED and P, the Pentateuchal sections could be at once combined, and the result would be substantially our Pentateuch. Otherwise R^{P} himself may have separated the Joshua sections from either or both of his documents; or he may have combined JED and P, both containing Joshua sections, thus compiling the Hexateuch.

R^{P} used P as a framework, into which he fitted the sections of JED. He probably omitted parts of JED, and perhaps restored[3] passages omitted by R^{D} or R^{JE}. Otherwise he combined his material in the same way as R^{JE}, R^{D}. An example of his method has already been given in § 5.

If R^{P}'s work was the Hexateuch, Joshua was separated from the Pentateuch somewhat later. It seems more likely that Joshua was compiled from the Joshua sections of JED and P by another editor, who made JED the framework.

[1] Assuming that the description of the Code in Ezra–Nehemiah as the Law of Moses is not—as in the account of Josiah's reforms in Chronicles—merely due to the chronicler.

[2] R^{P} = the editor, who, writing under the influence of P, added P to JED.

[3] J, E, and JE probably continued to exist as separate works after their contents were included in JE and JED.

In Judges–Kings the priestly editors had no complete parallel priestly history to combine with the Deuteronomic history. These books as we have them are substantially the work of the Deuteronomic editors; the priestly editors added comparatively little, and that little consists chiefly of small changes and insertions. The real priestly version of the history is Chronicles. Also some further additions were made to the Pentateuch after JED and P were combined. The final stage was the division of the Pentateuch into five books.

(c) *Date and Place of Composition.*—It has sometimes been supposed that Ezra's law-book was the complete Pentateuch which had been compiled in Babylonia before 458. But the reading and exposition of the Pentateuch would scarcely have been accomplished even in the eight days devoted to Ezra's law-book, and it would have severely taxed the ingenuity of the Levites to explain orally the many contradictions, obscurities, and abrupt transitions of the Pentateuch. The Priestly Code, even including H, was a fairly consecutive and consistent work, which lent itself to such treatment.

Hence the combination of JED and P was probably somewhat later than the promulgation of P in 444. It is usually dated about 400.[1] There was every reason for amalgamating the two works at once. Side by side, as separate books, they seemed to compete for the title of Law of Moses; their combination prevented any such controversy.

The work of the other priestly editors—the severance or formation of Joshua, the priestly additions to Judges–Kings, the further additions to the Pentateuch—lies between 400 and 300, the date at which external evidence[2] shows the complete Pentateuch to have been in existence. Somewhere about this time the Pentateuch was divided into five books.

Even after this we know from the LXX. and the history of the LXX. text that a number of small changes were made

[1] KUENEN, p. 303 f., CORNILL, KAUTZSCH.
[2] *Cf.* chap. i. § 2.

in the Pentateuch and the historical books, but we have now reached a point at which the work of the editor can no longer be distinguished from that of the copyist, and higher passes into textual criticism.

The Pentateuch, in its final form, was called the Law, *Tôrâ*, and later, "the five-fifths of the Law."[1] The title "Pentateuch" or "five-volumed" was given to it by Greek writers, from whom it passed into Latin and other languages.

22. **Mosaic Material in the Pentateuch.**—We have seen that all the main documents rest on older sources, and that those used by D and P are not confined to J and E. It seems extremely probable, if not certain, that these earlier sources contained matter which originated with, or received the sanction of Moses. Even where a law as it stands was clearly addressed to the Israelites of the Monarchy, it may be an adaptation or translation, so to speak, of a Mosaic law to suit the needs of later times, an application of a principle laid down originally by Moses. A Mosaic element in the Pentateuch is as probable as Davidic poems in the Psalter; but in both cases we have no criteria which enable us to identify this element with any definiteness or certainty. Many Israelites, at certain periods, regarded Moses much as Christians regard Christ, as the supreme authority for religious truth. All that was implied by or deduced from the teaching of Moses was held to be Mosaic, just as we call all that is implied by or deduced from the teaching of Christ, Christian. The usage is natural and justifiable in both cases. Moses' position in Israelite religion was, of course, only similar, and not strictly parallel to the relation of Christ to Christianity; yet the Pentateuch is Mosaic as the final product of a process which owed its first impulse, its direction and character to Moses.

[1] *Hămishshâ hûmeshê hat-tôrâ.*

23. Genesis.

(a) *Title.*—In the Hebrew *Berêshîth*, "In the beginning," *i.e.*, the opening word of the book; in the LXX. and Vulg., and from them in other versions, *Genesis* "origin," because it describes the *origin* of the world.

(b) *Contents and Archæology.*—i. 1–ii. 4a, P's account of the Creation, as the Institution of the Sabbath. ii. 4b–25, J's account of the Creation, "God" = R^P, in "Lord God."

Narratives of the Creation, mostly with some parallels to the above, are found amongst most races; but naturally the closest parallels are found amongst the Semites. Parallel to P, we have the Assyrian and Babylonian narrative preserved on seven (?) tablets.[1] The Creation starts from chaos[2] and proceeds by stages, presenting similarities of language and ideas with Genesis i., but loses itself in a contest between Merodach and Tiamat, and gives full play to polytheist mythology. A parallel to the Sabbath has been seen in the fact that amongst the Assyrians certain acts were forbidden on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th of each month.[3]

J's account shows traces of being based on ancient Semitic tradition, but no close parallel to it has yet been published.

iii., iv., J, The Fall, Cain and Abel, Cainite Genealogies, Lamech.

The elements in the story of the Fall—supernatural serpents; forbidden food, the eating of which brings disaster; and sacred trees—are familiar features of all folklore. The sacred tree and the demon serpent figure constantly, but for the most part separately, on Assyrian monuments and gems. It is doubtful, however, whether the colossal winged Assyrian bulls with human faces were called *Kîrubu*; and, even if they were, whether they are connected with the Cherubim. There are Phœnician sculptures which show griffins guarding a sacred tree. There seems no real parallel to the Fall, the resemblance between the Babylonian legend of Adapa, the progenitor of mankind, and Genesis iii. being probably fortuitous. Adapa forfeits immortality by following advice to avoid eating certain food.

The names in the genealogies are sometimes identified with those of Babylonian gods.

v., P; *except* 29 = J. The Sethite genealogy, Seth to Noah. Enoch.

[1] *Records of the Past*, New Series, i. 122 ff. (*cf.* 147 ff.), also preserved by Berosus; cf. the Non-Semitic account vi. 109, which has points of contact with P.

[2] *Tiamat*; cf. the *tehôm*, EV. "deep."

[3] DAVIS, Gen., etc., p. 25.

The genealogy Kenan to Lamech is another version of the Cainite genealogy Cain to Lamech. The numbers differ considerably in the Hebrew, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX.

vi. 1–4, J, The Marriage of the "Sons of God," angels, to the daughters of men. vi. 5–viii., P; *except vi.* 5–8; *vii.* 1–5, 7–10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22*f.*; *viii.* 2*b*, 3*a*, 6–12, 13*b*, 20–22 = J. The Flood.

The Babylonian epic on the adventures of Gilgames contains an episode, in which Xisuthros tells how he escaped the Flood. The god Ea warned him that the other gods were about to send a Flood, and bade him build a ship. Xisuthros did so, dimensions, etc., are given; it was pitched, etc., and had storeys and a window. Xisuthros brought in his family, slaves, and cattle. The Flood came, lasted seven days, and drowned all mankind except those in the ship. The ship grounded on a mountain. Xisuthros sent out in succession a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The dove and the swallow came back, but the raven waded. When Xisuthros saw this, he left the ship with the rest, built an altar, and offered sacrifice. The gods smell the sweet savour, and swarm like flies to the sacrifice. Those who sent the Flood are angry because some have escaped, but Ea pacifies them, and Xisuthros and his wife are rendered immortal.

This account has some features in common with P, some with J. A fragment of a different Babylonian version has been found; and another version was preserved by Berosus.[1] Traditions of great floods are also found amongst most races.

ix. 1–17, P, The Rainbow.

In the Babylonian Deluge story allusion is made to "the bow of Ishtar," which may be the rainbow.

ix. 18–27, J, Curse of Canaan.

ix. 28–x., P; *except x.* 8–19, 21, 25–30 = J. Noah's Descendants.

xi. 1–9, J, Tower of Babel.

xi. 10–26, P, Genealogy from Shem to Terah.

xi. 27–xii., J; *except xi.* 27, 31*f.*, *xii.* 4*b*, 5, *xiii.* 6, 11*b* = P, Abram and Lot, Migration to Canaan, Visit to Egypt, Separation.

xiv., *Unknown Source*, Abram and Melchizedek.

The inscriptions show that most, if not all the names in verse 1 are those of actual places and persons; that Babylonia and other powers to

[1] SCHRADER, Cuneiform Inscr., etc., Eng. Trans., i. 53, *Records of the Past.*

the east of Syria had dealings with Palestine in very early times, earlier than any date which might be fixed for Abraham; and that Elam was supreme in Western Asia at a period which might very well coincide with that of Abraham. But the inscriptions do not mention Abraham or Melchizedek, or any campaign which can be that of this chapter. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show that Jerusalem was known as Uru-salim about B.C. 1300–1400. In a letter to the King of Egypt, the King of Jerusalem writes, "Neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The strong arm of the king inaugurated me in my father's territory,"[1] a curious coincidence with the "without father, without mother" of Hebrews—nothing more. See Appendix B.

Differences of style, etc., show that this chapter stands alone, and does not belong to any of the main documents of the Hexateuch. It has no connection with any context either in P or J; this fact, and certain peculiarities of style show that it was inserted by a late editor, after the combination of JED and P; but the chapter may be based on an ancient narrative, or it may have been compiled in Babylon during or after the Exile, on the basis of those ancient archives, then complete and well known, whose fragmentary relics alone are now available. Verses 18–20 may be an interpolation. It is curious that the number, 318, of Abram's slaves, in verse 14, is the sum of the numerical values of the consonants of Eliezer, xv. 2, etc., the only male slave of his mentioned by name.

xv., JE, Promise to Abram of an heir whose seed shall inherit Canaan.

xvi., J; *except* 1*a*, 3, 15 *f.* = P, Birth of Ishmael.

xvii., P, Institution of Circumcision.

xviii. f., J; *except xix.* 29 = P, Promise of Isaac, Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot.

xx. ff., E; *except xxi.* 1–5 = P*; *xxi.* 6*b*, 7, 33, *xxii.* 20–24 = J; *xx.* 18, *xxii.* 14–18 = R^{JE}, Abraham, Sarah, and Abimelech, Birth of Isaac, Sending away of Hagar and Ishmael, Sacrifice of Isaac.

xxiii., P, Death of Sarah, Precedent as to sale of land.

xxiv., J, Eliezer, Rebecca, and Isaac.

xxv. 1–18, P; *except* 1–6, 11*b*, 18 = JE, Death and descendants of Abraham and Ishmael.

xxv. 19–34, J; *except* 19*f.*, 26*b* = P, Birth of Esau and Jacob, Birthright sold.

xxvi. 1–33, J; *except* 1–5 (parts of), 15, 18 = R^{JE}, Isaac and Abimelech.

xxvi. 34, 35, P, Esau's Wives.

[1] WINCKLER, p. 303.

* *Mostly;* so elsewhere.

xxvii. f., JE; *except xxvii.* 46–*xxviii.* 9 = P, Blessing of Jacob and Esau, Esau's Wives, Jacob's Flight, His Dream at Bethel.

xxix. 1–xxxii. 1, JE; *except xxix.* 24, 28*b*, 29, *xxxi.* 18* = P, Jacob and Laban.

xxxii. 2–xxxiii., JE; *except xxxiii.* 18*a* = P, Jacob and Esau.

xxxiv. (*constructed on a J basis by a later, probably priestly, writer*), Dinah, Sack of Shechem.

xxxv. 1–22*a*, E; *except* 9–13, 15 = P, 21, 22*a* = J, Jacob at Bethel, Death of Deborah and Rachel.

xxxv. 22b–xxxvii. 1, P; *except xxxvi.* 31–39 = J, Family of Jacob, Death of Isaac, Descendants of Esau, Princes of Edom.

xxxvii. 2–36, JE; *except* 2*a* = P, Joseph and his Brethren.

xxxviii., J, Judah and Tamar.

xxxix.–xlviii., JE; *except xli.* 46, *xlvi.* 6–27, *xlvii.* 5*b*, 6*a*, 7–11, 27*f.*, *xlviii.* 3–7 = P, Joseph in Egypt, Brethren and Jacob come thither.

Egyptian papyri give a story in which an elder brother, his wife, and a younger brother play the parts of Potiphar, his wife, and Joseph.

xlix. 1–28, *The Blessing of Jacob.*

An ancient lyric, incorporated either by J or R^{JE}. Both Judah, 10, and Joseph, 26, are spoken of as royal tribes, which might be possible in a poem of the time of David or Solomon, but would be more natural after Jeroboam; on the other hand, there is no hint that Levi is a sacerdotal tribe, hence the Blessing was composed before 621. It is probably based on much older poems. Verse 28 = R.

Addis, 878–857, J; Cornill, after Jeroboam, before 850, J; Dillmann and Driver, p. 17, Reign of David or Solomon, J; Kautzsch, Reign of David; Kuenen, p. 240, tenth or ninth century; Gunkel, *c.* 1000–950.

xlix. 29–l., J; *except xlix* 29–33, *l.* 12*f.* = P; *l.* 15–26 = E, Death of Jacob and Joseph.

(c) *Use in N.T.*—Chapter ii. 24 is used by our Lord to enforce the sanctity of marriage (Matt. xix. 5), and by St. Paul, in Eph. v. 31, as a reason for conjugal affection and a symbol of the relation of Christ and the Church, and, in 1 Cor. vi. 16, to show the heinousness of fornication. Chapter xv. 6,

Abraham's faith is used in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, Jas. ii. 23. There are other quotations and numerous references to the history, especially to show that the promises made to the patriarchs are fulfilled in Christ, and that the freedom of God's election is illustrated by the choice of Jacob rather than Esau.

24. **Exodus.**

(a) *Title.*—In the Hebrew Bible, *We'ēlleh Shemôth*, from the opening words; LXX., Vulg., and other versions, *Exodus*, as narrating the departure of the Israelites from Egypt.

(b) *Archæology.*—No reference has yet been found to the Exodus in the monuments. From considerations as to where it would best fit in to what we know of Egyptian history, the Exodus has been placed in various periods, and numerous Egyptian kings have figured at different times as the Pharaohs of the Oppression or the Exodus. Attempts are also made to combine the Biblical chronology, which, however, affords no clear or certain data, with that of Egypt, which is also only approximately known. The results are naturally unsatisfactory. Popular handbooks often refer to Rameses II., *c.* 1300, as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah II., as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.[1] But this is only one of many possible theories, and the discovery of an inscription of Merenptah's, in which he claims to have subdued Israelites in Syria, renders it less probable than some others.

(c) *Contents.*

i., JE; *except* 1–7 = P, Oppression in Egypt.

ii. 1–22, JE, Youth of Moses.

ii. 23–vi. 27, JE; *except ii.* 23*ff.*, *vi.* 2–27 = P, Call of Moses, Mission of Moses and Aaron to the Israelites and Pharaoh, Genealogy of Moses and Aaron.

vi. 28–xi. (xii. 29 f., JE), JE; *except vi.* 28*ff.*, *vii.* 1–13, 19–22,* *viii.* 1–3, 12–15, *ix.* 8–12, *xi.* 9*f.* = P, Ten Plagues.

[1] So SAYCE, *Higher Criticism*, pp. 237 ff., mainly because Rameses II. is known from Egyptian inscriptions to have built Pithom. (Exodus i. 11.)

xii. 1–xiii. 16, P; *except xii.* 29–39, 42 = JE; *xii.* 21–27, *xiii.* 3–16 = R^D, Institution of Passover.

xiii. 17–xv. 21, JE; *except xiii.* 20, *xiv.* 1–4, 8*f.*, 15–18, 21*ff.*,* 26–29* = P, Red Sea.

xv. 1–19, Moses' Song of Triumph; a lyric inserted by E or R^{JE}. It is later than the Conquest, 17, but may rest on a more ancient, possibly even Mosaic basis.

xv. 20–xvii., JE; *except xvi.* 1–3, 6–24,* 31–36, *xvii.* 1* = P, Marah, Manna, Quails, Water from the Rock at Massah–Meribah, Amalek.

For the Quails, here P, *cf.* the fuller story in Numbers xi., J; for the Water from the Rock, here JE, *cf.* Numbers xx. 1–13, P.

xviii., E, *traces of J or* R^{JE} *in* 1*f.*, 9*ff.*, Jethro.

xix. 1–xx. 21, JE; *except* 1, 2*a* = *P, and traces,* 6, *etc., of* R^D *or* R^P *in xx.* 2–17, The Ten Commandments given from Sinai.

The Decalogue, xx. 2–17, is generally held to have been incorporated in E; but the substance is older than E, and may have been taken from the tables of stone in the Ark. Addis dates the Decalogue in the eighth or seventh century. *Cf.* Deuteronomy v. 6–21.

From xix. 1 onwards, the scene of the rest of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus, and Numbers i. 1–x. 10 is SINAI.

xx. 22–xxiii. 19, The Book of the Covenant.

The Book of the Covenant, *cf.* §§ 4–16, is generally held to have been incorporated in E, or possibly by R^{JE} in JE; it was edited in various ways before and at the time of its incorporation. It is an ancient code of social law and ritual, probably not older than the monarchy, but at least as old as the earliest editions of J and E. Many of the laws it contains may be much older still.

xxiii. 20–33, E; *except* 22*b*–25*a*, 31*b*–33 (*against intercourse with the Canaanites*) = R^D, Promises of Blessing if the Law is observed.

xxiv. 1f., 9ff., J (or E^1), Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, etc., see Jehovah.

xxiv. 3–8, R^{JE} (or E or E^2), Covenant, with sacrifice, to observe the Book of the Covenant.

xxiv. 12ff. (18aβb, xxxi. 18b), E (or E^1 or E^2), Moses in the Mountain forty days.

xxiv. 15–xxxi., P; *except xxiv.* 18*a βb*, *xxxi.* 18*b* = E, Moses in the Mountain, receives instructions for the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, and for the vestments and consecration of the priests, Aaron and his sons.

xxxii.–xxxiii., JE, Golden Calf.

xxxiv. 1–28, J, *with editorial additions*, a code parallel to E's Decalogue and Book of the Covenant.

Written, according to the narrative—here, probably, R^{JE} — on the tables of stone, which replaced those broken by Moses. The writing, however, is quite different from that on the first tables.

xxxiv. 29–xl., P, Moses descends from the Mountain, and carries out the instructions given in *xxv.–xxxi.*

The narrative here is mostly obtained from the instructions by altering the tenses. The LXX. text differs widely from the Hebrew, especially in the order, *cf.* Driver, 37 f.

(d) *Use in N.T.*—There are numerous references to the history, especially in the historical retrospects in Acts and Hebrews; and to the Laws, especially the Decalogue. St. Paul uses, as illustrations of God's free election, the reference to Pharaoh in ix. 16, and xxxiii. 19, *cf.* Romans ix. 15, 17.

25. Leviticus.

The scene of the whole book is SINAI.

(a) *Title.*—Hebrew, *Wayyiqrā'*, from the opening word; LXX., *Leuitikon;* Vulg., and other versions, *Leviticus*, as containing the Levitical laws.

(b) *Analysis.*—The whole book is Priestly Code, incorporating the Law of Holiness, in xvii.–xxvi., etc.

(c) *Contents.*—i–x., The Sacrifices.

xi., Clean and Unclean Animals (? H).

Cf. Deuteronomy xiv. 3–20.

xii., Purification after Childbirth.

xiii. f., Leprosy.

xv., Sexual Uncleanness.

xvi., Day of Atonement.

Law of Holiness, xvii.-xxvi.

xvii., Law of Slaughter; at the Tabernacle only.
xviii., Unlawful Marriages, etc.
xix. f., Various Laws.
xxi. f., Cleanness of Priests, Sacrifices.
xxiii., Feasts.
xxiv., Various Laws.
xxv., Sabbatical Year, Jubilee.
xxvi., Exhortation to keep the preceding laws, enforced by promises and threats.

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xxvii., Vows and Tithes.

Verse 34 may have been added by the editor who divided the Pentateuch into five books, as a suitable conclusion for Leviticus, Kuenen, p. 341, *cf.* Numbers xxxvi. 13.

(d) *Use in N.T.*—There are references to some of the laws; xviii. 5 is quoted Rom. x. 5, Gal. iii. 12; xix. 2, "Be ye holy, because I am holy," etc., 1 Pet. i. 16; xix. 18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," Matt. xix. 19, Rom. xiii. 9, etc.; *cf.* xxvi. 12, 2 Cor. vi. 16.

26. Numbers.

(a) *Title.*—In Hebrew, according to Jerome *Wayyedabbēr*, the opening word, but in the MSS. and printed editions *BeMidbar* = "in the wilderness of," a word in the first verse, which would serve to describe the position of the Israelites during the events narrated in the book; LXX., *Arithmoi*, Vulg. *Numeri*, English versions, *Numbers*, because the book contains the enumerations of the Israelites.

(b) *Contents.*—i. 1-x. 10, P, *At Sinai*, First Census of the Israelites who left Egypt, Duties of the Levites, Laws of the Nazarites, etc., Offerings for the Tabernacle, Laws as to the Levites, the Passover, Second Passover, Silver Trumpets, etc.

x. 11-28, P, Departure from Sinai, Order of March.

x. 29-xii., JE, Hobab asked to remain with Israel, Departure from Sinai, Quails, Seventy Elders who prophesy, Miriam and Aaron murmur against Moses, Miriam's Leprosy.

In xi. two entirely independent stories, that of the Quails and that of the Seventy Elders, are curiously combined. Apart from editorial additions, the story of the Quails belongs to J, that of the Elders to E or possibly to R^{JE}. There is a brief reference to the Quails in P, Exodus xvi. 13, *before* the arrival at Sinai.

xiii. f., P; *except xiii.* 17*b*-20, 22*ff.*, 27-31, 32,* 33, *xiv.* 1-4,* 8*f.*, 11-25, 39-45 = *JE*, Spies, Evil Report of all but Caleb and Joshua, Discouragement of the People, All but Caleb and Joshua to die during forty years wandering in the Wilderness, The People seek to enter Canaan, but are defeated at Hormah.

xv., P, Various Laws, Stoning of the Sabbath Breaker.

xvi. 1a, 2-11, 16-24, 35-50,[1] xvii. = P, Korah and the Levites attempt to exercise priestly functions, and are consumed by fire from Jehovah, Plague, Aaron's rod buds as a token of the exclusive right of the *Levites* to the Priesthood.

An earlier Priestly Narrative, in which Korah's fate enforced the rights of the whole tribe of Levi as against the other tribes, xvi. 3, xvii., has been modified to enforce the claims of the house of Zadok or Aaron, as in Ezekiel and P, against the Levites, xvi. 8-10.

xvi. 1b, 12-15, 23-34 = JE, The Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, rebel against Moses; the earth opens and swallows them up with their families.

The authors of Deuteronomy xi. 6 and Psalm cvi. 17 were acquainted with a story concerning Dathan and Abiram, but not Korah or On. In xxvii. 3, P, Korah is mentioned, without any reference to Dathan, etc. The name of On, who is only mentioned in xvi. 1, should probably be omitted as due to a corruption of the text through the accidental repetition of some of the consonants. Korah has been introduced into verses 24, 27, and 32 by the editor who combined JED and P in xvi.

xviii. f., P, Tithes and other Dues of the Priests and Levites, The Water of Separation for purifying anyone who has touched a corpse.

xx. f., JE; *except xx.* 1-13,* 22-29, *xxi.* 10*f.* = P, Death of Miriam, Water from the Rock at Meribah, Death of Aaron, Israel defeats Arad and the Canaanites at Hormah, Brazen Serpent, List of Halting Places, Overthrow of Sihon and Og.

[1] E.V. xvi. 36-50, xvii. 1-13 = Heb. xvii. 1-28.

For the Water from the Rock at Meribah, here P, *cf.* the parallel narrative in JE, Exodus xvii. 1–7, at Massah-Meribah, *before* the arrival at Sinai.

The incident at Hormah, xxi. 1–3, is probably J^2, *cf.* the parallel in Judges i. 17 = J^1; also xiv. 45, probably E, and Deuteronomy i. 44, probably based on E. The List of Halting Places, xxi. 12–20, is an older document incorporated by E or R^{JE}. All the poems in xxi. may be from the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" mentioned in verse 14, which may also be the source of other poems in the historical books; nothing more is known of this work. According to Addis and others, the poem in xxi. 27 ff. is a composition of the ninth century in which the Israelites celebrated their conquests in Moab. Heshbon, the city of Sihon, is here (verse 30) amongst the Moabite cities which had been sacked. If so, Sihon is here a *Moabite* king, and "to Sihon, king of the *Amorites*," in verse 29, is an editorial addition. The Conquest of Og in 33 ff. was not originally part of the same story as the Conquest of Sihon, but was added by R^{JE} or R^{D}.

xxii. ff., JE,* Balak and Balaam.

The following more detailed analysis is somewhat uncertain, especially as to the passages assigned to J :—

	xxii.	xxiii.	xxiv.
P	1		
J	22–25		1–19
E	8–21* 35–41*	1–26	
JE	2–7	27–30	25
R			20–24

In xxiv. 20–24 "Assyria" is sometimes taken literally, and R will be R^{JE}; or "Assyria" may be the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, in which case the addition must have been made in the Greek period. Apart from this and other editorial additions, the oracles uttered by Balaam belong to the early monarchy, perhaps to the period of David and Solomon. Their unqualified exultation in the strength and glory of Israel reflects a period of great national prosperity, and xxiv. 17 f. may refer to the Conquest of Edom and Moab by David. The silence as to Judah suggests composition in Northern Israel. Some critics, *e.g.*, Von Gall (quoted Gray, *Num.*, p. 314), regard all the poems as post-exilic.

xxv. 1–5, JE, the Moabites corrupt Israel.

xxv. 6–18, P, Phinehas slays an Israelite chief, and a noble Midianite woman whom he had taken into his tent.

Cf. Ezra's attack upon marriage with foreigners.

xxvi.–xxxi., P, Second Census—of the children of those who left Egypt, the latter having all perished except Joshua and Caleb,[1] Law of Inheritance of Females, Joshua Moses' successor, Laws of Sacrifices at the Feasts, etc., and of Vows, Defeat and Extermination of the Midianites, Division of the Spoil between Israel and the Tabernacle.

xxxii., 1-38, *Constructed by a priestly writer on the basis of a JE narrative.* The allotment of Eastern Palestine to Gad and Reuben.

Half Manasseh in 33 is an editorial addition, as in Joshua xxii., which is a very similar document, possibly by the same hand. In Numbers, however, the order is Gadites and Reubenites;[2] in Joshua, Reubenites and Gadites.

xxxii. 39–42, J; *except* 40 = R^{JE}, The Conquest of Gilead by the Manassites, Machir, Jair, and Nobah.

In 1–38, Moses gave Gilead to Gad and Reuben; here he gives it to Machir the Manassite. The verses were probably originally connected with Judges i.

xxxiii. 1–49, *Compiled from the combined PJED.* List of the Halting Places during the Wandering.

If, as seems to be the case, verse 2 states that this list was written by Moses, it is probably an independent summary of the history of the Wandering, and came into the hands of a late editor, who gave it this heading and added it to the Pentateuch. Verse 2, however, may mean that the list was based on some document or documents attributed to Moses, possibly PJED, or JED.

xxxiii. 50–xxxvi., P, Jehovah instructs Moses concerning the Borders of the Promised Land, the Princes who are to divide it amongst the People, the Levitical Cities, the Cities of Refuge, and the Law of Murder. Moses lays down a law as to the Marriage of Female Heirs.

Kuenen, p. 341, Addis, etc., regard xxxvi. 13, as added by the editor who divided the Pentateuch into five books, as a suitable conclusion for

[1] Moses is overlooked.

[2] Except in 1, possibly altered by an editor.

Numbers. Since, however, it is immediately contradicted by Deuteronomy i. 1, which that editor must have had under consideration, there is less difficulty in supposing that it is P's conclusion of his legislation, imitated by the editor who added Leviticus xxvii. 34.

(c) *Use in N.T.*—In addition to references to the history, 2 Timothy ii. 19 is perhaps suggested by the LXX. of xvi. 5, "God knows them that are His," *i.e.*, the faithful, in contrast to Korah and his company.

27. **Deuteronomy**, *cf.* §§ 1–18, especially §§ 17 f.

(a) *Title.*—Hebrew, *'Elleh had-Debhārîm*, the opening words; also spoken of as *Mishneh*, because regarded as a recapitulation of the laws in the previous books; similarly, LXX., *Deuteronomion*, the Second Law; hence Vulg. *Deuteronomium*; and E.V. *Deuteronomy*.

(b) *Analysis.*—Chapters i–xxx. consist of the various strata of D, incorporating material borrowed by the Deuteronomic writers from J and E or JE; with slight additions by the priestly writers. The analysis of xxxi.–xxxiv. will be given under the various sections.

(c) *Contents.*—i. 1–iv. 40, First introductory Historical Retrospect and Exhortation.

Based on E or JE, by a different hand from xii.–xxvi., and added to Josiah's law-book after its publication, but before it was combined with JE. The archæological details as to the original inhabitants of Canaan, ii. 10 ff., 20–23, are obvious additions, probably marginal notes by a reader, which have slipped into the text. The exhortation, iv. 9–40, is sometimes (Cornill, Addis, etc.) ascribed to a different author to the rest of this introduction.

iv. 41 ff., Cities of Refuge, E of Jordan. An isolated fragment, quite unconnected with its context. It is a correction of xix. 9, which directs the establishment of *three* cities at once, three more will be appointed if the territory of Israel is increased. Who composed these verses, and why they were placed here, is a mystery. They may be by a Deuteronomic writer to supplement xix. 9, or by a priestly writer to conform to P's provision of six cities of refuge.

iv. 44–49, Introductory Statement of the occasion on which the Deuteronomic Laws were promulgated.

Probably the original heading of Josiah's law-book, although either 44 or the whole paragraph is held by some to be a later addition. The paragraph may have been the introduction to an edition containing iv. 44–xxvi.

v.–xi., Hortatory Introduction to the Deuteronomic Code, including a Second Edition of the Decalogue, Exhortations to obey the Law, to avoid idolatry, and to have no dealings with the idolatrous Canaanites. These exhortations are enforced by appeals to their experience of the rewards of obedience, and the punishment of rebellion during the Wanderings.

In v.–xxvi., the mode of address varies, sometimes the second person singular, "thou shalt," is used; sometimes the plural, "ye shall"; sometimes the third person singular, "a man shall." Attempts have been made[1] to use these as criteria of different sources.

Chapters v.–xi. may either be part of the original law-book; so Addis, ii. 25, Driver, p. 87, König, p. 210, Marti (Kautzsch, *Bibel*), Ryle (Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*), Steuernagel; or composed later than xii.–xxvi., but by the same author, Kuenen, p. 212; or they may be a later addition by a different author, Cornill, Holzinger, p. 275, Wellhausen, *History*, p. 369.

D borrowed the Decalogue, v. 6-21, either from JE or E, or, like E, may have known it as an independent document; he edited it in his characteristic style and spirit, *cf.* Exodus xx. The historical references in v.–xi. are to JE or to the separate E.

Chapter x. 1–9 (10), (The writing of the second set of tables of stone, the command to make the Ark, the setting apart of the tribe of Levi), interrupt the obvious connection between ix. 29, and x. 10[2] or 11, and are probably a later addition. Verses 6 f. have no connection with 1–5, 8, 9, and are utterly out of place. They are often regarded as a piece of jetsam and flotsam from E, which, by some strange misadventure, has drifted on to an alien shore, *cf.* E's list of halting places in Numbers xxi. If so, the reference to Eleazar is an addition of a priestly editor, for, with the very doubtful exceptions of this passage, and Joshua xxiv. 33,[3] neither J nor E refer to Eleazar or Phinehas.

Chapter xi. 29 f. are also an addition by the Deuteronomic author of Joshua viii. 30-35.

XII.–XXVI., The Deuteronomic Code[4] (*containing the laws on which Josiah's reforms, 621, were based*).

[1] Especially by Stärk and Steuernagel, as criteria of authorship, by which v.–xxvi. may be resolved into earlier sources. The differences may very well indicate the presence of earlier material and later additions, but scarcely enable us to determine the literary history of these chapters.

[2] Verse 10 is clearly written with reference to ix. 29, but it may be the work of an editor who tried to mend the confusion caused by the introduction of x. 1–9.

[3] *q.v.*, also probably by a priestly editor.

[4] For Contents see next page.

These chapters, like v.–xi.,[1] have been analysed into earlier sources, whose distinctive marks are the singular and plural forms of address; but this analysis has met with little acceptance. The Code is an amended and expanded edition of the JE laws, the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue, etc.;[2] some laws it repeats, either verbatim or with explanations and slight modifications, *e.g.*, the Decalogue; some it omits, *e.g.*, Exodus xxi. 18–xxii. 15, the compensation to be given for injuries; and some it expands, or corrects, *e.g.*, the single verse, Exodus xxii. 20, prohibiting the worship of strange gods, is expanded into a long paragraph, Deuteronomy xvii. 2–7, specifying the sun, moon, and stars as "other gods," and appointing the procedure to be observed in dealing with their worshippers. Again, the law limiting sacrifice, Deuteronomy xii. is a correction of Exodus xx. 24, which permits sacrifice at many sanctuaries. Also, the Code introduces many new laws, *e.g.*, those limiting the priesthood to the tribe of Levi. For various other details see under the separate sections.

xii. 1–xiv. 21, The worship of Other Gods and the use of Foreign Superstitious Customs to be avoided by confining sacrifice to One Sanctuary, Animals may be slaughtered anywhere, Practices, etc. which are to be avoided, Punishment of those who observe or encourage such practices, List of Animals which may and may not be eaten.

This latter list, xiv. 3–21, agrees almost exactly with Leviticus xi. 2–23, which is probably H. Apparently the list was older than both D and H, and was used by both. The list is sometimes regarded as a later addition to D[1].

xiv. 22–xv., Tithes and Year of Release.

xvi. 1–17, Yearly Feasts.

xvi. 18–xvii. 13, Law Courts.

The sections prohibiting the use of Asheras and Maççebas, the offering of unsuitable sacrifices, xvi. 22–xvii. 1, have no connection with the context, and must be misplaced.

xvii. 14–19, Law for the King.

xviii. 1–8, Provision for the Levites.

xviii. 9–22, Prophets, How to distinguish the True from the False.

xix. 1–xxiii. 1, Laws concerning Murder, Cities of Refuge, Landmarks, Perjury, War, Authority of Parents, etc., Benevolence to Fellow-countrymen, Judicial procedure as to charges of Unchastity, etc.

[1] See above on v.–xi. [2] See Table in DRIVER, p. 68.

xxiii. 2–xxv., Laws as to the exclusion of members of neighbouring tribes from the Assembly, Runaway slaves not to be sent back, Interest, Vows, Divorce, Provision for the Poor, Punishments, Marriage with Deceased Brother's Wife, etc., Curse on Amalek.

xxvi., Firstfruits, Tithe in Third Year, Closing Exhortation.

Although the main section of D^1 closes here, probably xxviii. also belongs to that document.

xxvii., The Law, *i.e.*, D^1, to be written on stones, and set up on Mount Ebal; also an altar to be set up on Mount Ebal, and curses to be proclaimed.

This chapter, which breaks the connection between xxvi. and xxviii., is a series of later additions. Verses 9 f. may be the connecting link between xxvi. and xxviii., *i.e.*, D^1, if xxviii. is D^1, if not by the Deuteronomic editor who added xxviii. Verses 1–8, 11–13 are closely connected with xi. 29 f. and Joshua viii. 30–35, and are by the same hand or hands. Verses 6 f. which order the erection of an altar cannot have been originally written by a Deuteronomist, because they, at any rate, seem to contradict the Law of the One Sanctuary. As Shechem lay between Ebal and Gerizim, they may be a fragment of E, to which 1–5, 8 have been added as a kind of correction. Verses 14–26, of which Joshua viii. 30–35 take no notice, and which are not Deuteronomic in style, must be a very late addition.

xxviii., D^1, The Rewards of Obedience, and the Punishment of Disobedience.

Ascribed to D^1 by Addis, Driver, p. 67, Kuenen, p. 124, Marti, Ryle, etc.; to a later Deuteronomic writer by Cornill, p. 21 f., Wellhausen, p. 369, etc. If D^1, there are later additions.

xxix. f., An Exhortation to Obedience, enforced by Promises and Threats.

A later Deuteronomic addition, differing somewhat in style from D^1; also xxx. 1–10 presupposes the Exile.

xxxi., Parting Words of Moses to Israel, Joshua, and the Levites. Moses finishes, 9, 24 f., writing "the words of this law," *i.e.*, D, "in a book," and bids the Levites put the book by the side of the Ark.

A series of later additions. Verses 1–8 connect closely with i.–iv. and with the Deuteronomic verses in Joshua i., and are probably by the same hand. If i.–iv. is accepted as D^1, these verses will be D^1. Verses 9–13, the direction to read the Law, at the Feast of Tabernacles,

in the Year of Release, may be D[1]. The references to Joshua, 14 f., 23, are probably E, edited by a Deuteronomic writer. In (a) 16–22 (? JE, so Addis, Kuenen, p. 256) (b) 24–30 we have two separate introductions to the *Song of Moses*. In 24 ff. Steuernagel proposes to read "Song," *shîrâ* for "Law," *tôrâ*.

xxxii. 1–43, Song of Moses, setting forth Jehovah's love to His people, their apostasy from their Rock, Jehovah, to other gods, their punishment and ultimate restoration.

An independent poem. Nothing in the poem itself suggests that it was composed by Moses. It looks back to a period of great national prosperity, accompanied by an outburst of the worship of other gods. Israel is oppressed by a nation, which is soon to be punished for its harshness to God's people. There are points of contact with Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and II. Isaiah[1] which suggest a date either just before or at the beginning of the Exile; so Addis, Driver, p. 89, König, p. 224, all three with some hesitation, Kuenen, p. 256, etc.; or even at the end of the Exile or later; so Cornill, Steuernagel, etc. If, however, Addis and Kuenen are right in ascribing xxxi. 14–22 to JE, and therefore regarding the Song as part of JE, we must either date JE in the Exile, or, more probably, place the Song before 650, regard the oppressor as the Assyrian, and suppose that the parallels to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and II. Isaiah are partly accidental, partly later additions. Dillmann, p. 394, considers that the Song was composed *c.* 800, and included in J. It is more likely that it was included in JED by its compiler or a later editor.

xxxii. 44, Subscription to the Song.

xxxii. 45–47, Closing Exhortation.

Deuteronomic, D[1] or later.

xxxii. 48–52, P, Command to Moses to ascend Mount Nebo, to die.

xxxiii., Blessing of Moses, A series of oracles on the tribes, like the Blessing of Jacob.

There is nothing in the poem to suggest Mosaic authorship. Verses 4 f., "Moses commanded us a law," etc., and the "he said"s which introduce each oracle in 7–25, indicate that it was written on the basis of ancient oracles ascribed to Moses. Simeon has disappeared, Reuben is at its last gasp, Judah is in distress, and the Blessing prays that he may be reunited to his people; but Levi flourishes as a priestly tribe, Benjamin dwells in safety, Joseph enjoys an exuberant prosperity, Gad is powerful and warlike, and the other northern tribes are flourishing. Possibly some of the oracles retain features which were no longer found in the position of the tribes where the Blessing was compiled, and the oracle on Levi may be a later addition. But the general character of the poem shows that it was written by a native of the northern kingdom,

[1] *Cf.* 39, Isa. xli. 4, xlviii. 12, xlv. 5; 15, Jer. v. 28; 41, Ezek. xxi. 9 f.

when that state was at the height of its power and prosperity, and when the northern kingdom was regarded as the true Israel, from which Judah had no right to hold aloof. A curious feature is the apparent grouping of Benjamin with the northern tribes. The conditions are held to point either to the time of Jeroboam I., so Dillmann, p. 415, Driver, *Deuteronomy i.l.*; or to that of Jeroboam II., so Addis, Cornill, Kuenen, Steuernagel. It has also been dated in the period of the Judges, König, p. 202, but this is improbable.

Its northern origin suggests a connection with E, so Cornill and Dillmann. There is little to show in which document or edition of the Pentateuch it was first included, but the absence of Deuteronomic or priestly glosses points to its having belonged to JE or E.

Steuernagel regards 2–5, 26–29 as a post-exilic psalm, and 9a, 10 as an addition, earlier than P.

xxxiv., P.; *except* 1*b*–7, 10 = JED, 11 f. = R^{D}, Death and Burial of Moses.

(d) *Use in N.T.*—Deuteronomy is used in several important passages, especially in our Lord's utterances, and in Romans and Hebrews. Owing to its didactic form, it lent itself to quotation; and in it, as in II. Isaiah, O.T. Revelation prepares the way for, and, in a measure, anticipates the gospel. The three O.T. quotations used by Christ at the temptation are Deuteronomy vi. 13, 16, viii. 3. The "first of all the commandments. . . . Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God, etc.," Mark xii. 29 f., etc., the opening clause of the *Shema* or Jewish Confession of Faith is from Deuteronomy vi. 4, 5. On the other hand, the Law of Divorce, of which Jesus said, "For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept," Mark x. 5, etc., is from Deuteronomy xxiv. 1. The promise of xviii. 18, that God would raise up prophets for His people, is specially applied to Christ in Acts iii. 22, vii. 37. In Romans x. 6–9, what is said in praise of the Law in Deuteronomy xxx. 12 ff., is applied to Christ; *cf.* also Romans x. 19, xi. 11, xii. 19, xv. 10, with Deuteronomy xxxii. 21, 35, 43. Hebrews i. 6, "Let all the angels of God worship him," is from the LXX. of Deuteronomy xxxii. 43, and the description of the scene at Sinai, in Hebrews xii. 18 ff., is from Deuteronomy iv. 11 f., v. 23–26. *Cf.* Deuteronomy xxv. 4, "Thou shalt muzzle the ox, etc.," with 1 Corinthians ix. 9, 1 Timothy v. 18.

28. **Joshua.**

(a) *Title.*—The book is named after the main character in the narrative, not after the author.

(b) *Archæology.*[1]—The Exodus itself cannot be brought directly into relation with what is known from the inscriptions of the history of Egypt and Palestine; but the narratives of the Conquest may be in some measure related to extra-Biblical information. Our data are fairly numerous. It is true that, individually, many of them are uncertain, especially as to the reading and meaning of names; and may be irrelevant; and that they are often very difficult to reconcile either with each other, or with even the oldest Biblical narrative. Yet taken together they, at any rate, help to limit the number of possible theories.

There are (i.) a number of apparent references to the presence of Israelites in Palestine extending from about B.C. 1500 to about B.C. 1200. If these are to be trusted, they seem to indicate either that the Exodus took place very early before 1500; or that it took place after 1200, and that in Genesis the narratives of the Patriarchs refer either to chiefs of tribes, or to tribes themselves; or that only a portion of the Israelites went down to Egypt, while the rest remained in Canaan. The references are as follows:—

At Karnak, in a list of Canaanite *towns* conquered by Thothmes III.,[2] we find the names of *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el*, apparently implying a long prior occupation of the district by the tribes of Jacob and Joseph.

From the archives of Amenophis IV., the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, we learn that in his reign,[3] Southern Palestine (and perhaps also Northern[4]) was being invaded by the *Habiri*. A theory has been advanced, and has met with some support,

[1] *Cf.* § 24 (b). For some of the following references I am indebted to an unpublished paper by Dr. Skinner, Presbyterian Coll., Camb.

[2] 1481–1449, PETRIE, *Egypt*, ii. 29.

[3] PETRIE, *Egypt*, ii. 205, B.C. 1383–1365.

[4] WINCKLER, p. 143, the rendering is uncertain at present.

that these are the Hebrews.[1] The term "Hebrew," however, might include Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

In the inscriptions of Seti I. and Rameses II.,[2] a name which is read as Asher occurs as the name of a district, in about the region assigned by the Book of Joshua to the tribe of Asher.[3]

In an inscription of Merenptah II.,[4] he claims to have subdued Israelites in Palestine.

But (ii.) another line of argument also points to a late date for the Conquest. In all the narratives, the deliverance at the Red Sea is regarded as the end of all difficulties with Egypt. None of the accounts of the whole period, including the Wandering, the Conquest, the Judges, Saul and David, hint at the presence of Egyptian armies or officials in the Sinaitic Peninsula, or in Palestine. Hence we ought to be able to fix the Exodus at the beginning of a period of, at the very least, two hundred years, during which Egypt left Palestine entirely to itself. Such a period is difficult to find. Thothmes I.[5] overran the hill-country of Palestine, and advanced the Egyptian frontier to the Euphrates; his successor, Thothmes II.,[6] claims dominion over Syria; the next king, Thothmes III.,[7] subdued Palestine and Syria in a long series of campaigns; his successor, Amenophis III., also fought in Syria. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets seem to show that under the next king, Amenophis IV., the Egyptian dominion in Palestine was lost for a time, but it was recovered by Rameses I. and Seti I,[8] and the next king, Rameses II.,[9] fought many campaigns in Syria. His successor, Merenptah II., claims

[1] *'Ibhrî.*

[2] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1366–1333–1300.

[3] MÜLLER, *Asien und Europen*, p. 237.

[4] PETRIE, *Egpyt*, i. 251, B.C. 1208, onward; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1300–1266.

[5] *Id.*, ii. 64, B.C. 1541–1516; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1633–1600.

[6] *Id.*, ii. 73, 1516–1503; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1600.

[7] *Id.*, ii. 100, 1503–1449; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, about 1600.

[8] *Id.*, i. 251, 1328–1327–1275; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1400–1366–1333.

[9] *Id.*, i. 251, 1275–1208; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1333–1300.

successes in Syria, and Rameses III.[1] also fought in Syria. After his death, Egypt seems to have lost Syria, and the Egyptian annals record no invasion of Syria until the reign of Shishak I.,[2] the contemporary of Jeroboam I. As the Exodus can scarcely have taken place two hundred years before Thothmes I., it seems necessary to place it some time after the death of Rameses III.

It may also be noted that the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and other inscriptions show that Palestine had existed for many centuries as a collection of tribes and city states, as Joshua found it at the Conquest.

(c) *Analysis.*—The history of the Book of Joshua is somewhat different from that of the rest of the Hexateuch, and presents some problems not yet solved. The groundwork is not P as in the first five books, but JED; the combination of P and JED in the Pentateuch and in Joshua was probably by different hands; R^D has dealt much more freely with his JE material in Joshua, than in the earlier sections. His work in some parts seems to amount to a rewriting of the history on the basis of JE, rather than a mere addition of editorial matter. Hence sections which, as they stand, are R^D may often be based upon and include JE material, which can no longer be separated with any certainty. Similarly, it is probable that P, in his account of the territories of the tribes, makes use of older sources. The conception of the Conquest as effected by united Israel, in a single war, under Joshua, which is absent[3] from J, is apparently found in E, and was developed and systematised in part perhaps by R^{JE}, but more thoroughly by R^D. Hence there is sometimes a difference of opinion as to whether a passage belongs to E, R^{JE}, or R^D. Probably R^D comprises material from at least two hands. The characteristic idea introduced by R^D is that Joshua and Israel carefully observed the Law of Moses, *i.e.*, D^1, during the life of Joshua and those of his contemporaries who survived him.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, about 1200.
[2] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 966–933. [3] *Cf.* on Judges i.

(d) *Contents.*—I.–XII., THE CONQUEST.

i. 1–viii. 29, JE; *except i.* 3–9, 11*b*–18, *ii.* 10*ff.*, *iii.* 7, 10*b*, *iv.* 12, 14, 21–24, *v.* 1, 4*f.*,* *vi.* 2*b.*,* 15*b*,* 17*b*, 18, 24*b*, 27, *viii.* 1*f.*,* 27 = R^D; *and iii.* 4, *iv.* 10*b.*,* 13, 19, *v.* 6*ff.*, 10*ff.*, *vi.* 23*b*, *vii.* 1, 24*b** = R^P or P, Directions for crossing the Jordan, Spies and Rahab, Crossing of the Jordan, Circumcision of the People, "The Captain of the Army of Jehovah," Fall of Jericho, The unsuccessful attack on Ai, Achan, Fall of Ai.

Chapter v. 13–15, "The Captain of the Army of Jehovah," has no connection with the context, and may be a fragment of an unknown source used by JE, or J or E. Traces of late language, *e.g.* "Prince,"[1] may be due to editors, or the fragment may have been given its present form and inserted in the Hexateuch by a late editor.

viii. 30–35, R^D, Altar on Mount Ebal, Blessings and Curses.

Cf. on Deuteronomy xi. 29 f., xxvii. 1–8, 11–13, where instructions are given for the ceremony here performed. Deuteronomy xxvii. apparently gives directions for two separate acts, the erection of an altar and the inscription of D^1 on stones; Joshua seems to combine the two into the erection of an altar on which D^1 is inscribed. Joshua viii. 30–35 may be by a later writer who misunderstood Deuteronomy; both may be by the author of Deuteronomy xxvii., who may have intended the passage as to the inscription as an interpretation of that about the altar, which he took from an older source, and shaped our present passage accordingly.

ix. 1–x. 27, JE; *except ix.* 1*f.*, 9*a*, 10, 24*f.*, 27*bβ*, *x.* 8, 19*b*, 25 = R^D; *ix.* 15*c*, 17–21, 23*b*, 27*aβ*, *x.* 27*bβ** = R^P or P, League with the Gibeonites, Battle of Bethhoron, Sun and Moon stand still.

The Book of Jashar, cited in x. 12 f., is mentioned in 2 Samuel i. 18 as containing David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, and in the original text[2] of 1 Kings viii. 12 as containing the short poem uttered by Solomon. It must have been a collection of poems compiled during the monarchy. "Jashar" means *upright;* it may be used, like Jeshurun, for *Israel;* or it may be a collective term for heroes. In the original poem the words about the sun and moon were figurative, like "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 20.

x. 28–xii., R^D; *except xi.* 1, 4*f.*, 7*f.** = JE, Summary of

[1] *Sar*, E.V. "Captain."

[2] As indicated by the LXX. (verse 53).

Joshua's campaign in the South, Defeat of Jabin, King of Hazor, Defeat of the Anakim, Brief account of the Districts Conquered, List of Conquered Kings.

In x. 28–39, 43 R^D probably had a JE basis. The passage is sometimes described as JE, with additions by R^D

XIII.–XXI., Division of the Land.

P's account of the territories of the tribes has been compiled from conflicting sources, one of which may have been JE, and has suffered from textual corruption. The lists of names are often confused and inconsistent. Many of the J passages in these chapters occur in Judges i.

xiii., P; *except* 1 = JE, 13 = J, 2–12 = R^D, Territories of the Eastern Tribes.

xiv., 1–5, P, Introduction to account of the Territories of the Western Tribes.

xiv. 6–15 R^D, Hebron given to Caleb.

Sometimes ascribed to JE. The discrepancy with xi. 21 probably indicates, at any rate, a JE basis.

xv., P; *except* 14–19, 63 = J, Territory of Judah.

xvi. f., P; *except xvi.* 1*ff.*, 9, *xvii.* 1*b*, 2*, 8, 9* = JE; *xvi.* 10, *xvii.* 11–18 = J, Territories of Ephraim and Western Manasseh.

xviii. 1–10, JE; *except* 1 = P; 3,* 7 = R^D, Introduction to the account of the Territories of the Remaining Seven Tribes.

xviii. 11–28, P; *except* 11b = JE, Territory of Benjamin.

xix.–xxi., P; *except xxi.* 41*ff.* = R^D; *xix.* 9 = JE; *xix.* 47 = J; *xix.* 49*f.* = E, Territories of Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan and Joshua; Cities of Refuge; Levitical Cities.

In xx. vv. 4 ff. and 6b, which are omitted by the LXX., are a very late addition to the text, modelled on Deuteronomic passages after the manner of similar sections of Chronicles.

xxii., R^P*; *except* 1–8 = R^D, Return of Reuben, Gad and Eastern Manasseh to the East of Jordan, Erection of an Altar in Gilead by Reuben and Gad.

Verses 9–30, in their present form, were compiled by a late priestly writer, like Judges xxi. *Cf.* on Numbers xxxii. There was an older basis, probably JE, for this section; but the compiler has dealt with it so freely that the original narrative cannot be reconstructed. "Half Manasseh" here, as in Numbers xxxii., is an editorial addition.

xxiii., R^D, Farewell Speech of Joshua.

xxiv., E; *except* 11*b*, 13, 31, *and a few phrases* = R^D; 26*a*, 33 = R^P, Farewell Speech of Joshua.

Verse 33 is generally given to E, *cf.* on Deuteronomy x. 6.

(e) *Use in N.T.*—There are references to the history, especially Rahab and the Fall of Jericho. *Cf.* also i. 5, with Hebrews xiii. 5.

29. **Judges.**

(a) *Title.*—Hebrew *shôphetîm*; rendered by LXX. *Kritai*; by Vulg. *Liber Judicum* or *Judicum;* by EV. *Judges.* This title was given because the narratives are chiefly concerned with the "Judges" or rulers in Israel, before the kings.

(b) *Analysis.*—The framework of the book is due to Deuteronomic editors, so that it once existed in a Deuteronomic edition, to which priestly writers made further additions. The Deuteronomic work made use of earlier material, which is often supposed to have been a section of JE, compiled from J and E.[1] In order to recognise the doubt which still remains as to the identification of this matter with JE, it is denoted in the sketch of contents by (JE).

On the understanding that the identification of the sources and early edition of Judges with J, E, and JE is probable rather than certain, the history of the composition of the book may be summarised as follows[2]:—

During the monarchy, *c.* 850–700, two independent writers (J) and (E), made collections of the narratives concerning the Judges. Both contained accounts of Ehud, Gideon and Abimelech, Jephthah, the Migration of the Danites, and the Outrage at Gibeah. One narrative (? J) contained also a narrative of the war with Jabin, and the story of Samson; the other narrative (? E) contained also the stories of Deborah and Barak, and of Samuel. These were combined into a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (JE), about 650. (JE)

[1] BUDDE, MOORE. [2] Substantially as Budde.

may have included the accounts of the "Minor Judges," Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, from (J) or (E) or elsewhere. During the Exile (JE) was edited by a Deuteronomic[1] editor, R^D, who added a system of chronology, and the story of Othniel, and interpreted the book so as to illustrate the Deuteronomic doctrine of the connection between national righteousness and national prosperity. He omitted J's history of the Conquest, i. 1–ii. 5, the story of Abimelech, ix., the Death of Samson, xvi., the Migration of the Danites, and the Outrage at Gibeah, xvii.–xxi., as unsuitable to his purpose. R^D's Judges may have extended to 1 Samuel xii.; but on the other hand, both JE and JED may have been continuous works from the Creation to the end of their narrative. If so, we can scarcely speak of pre-Deuteronomic and Deuteronomic Books of Judges, they were merely yet unseparated portions of the continuous works.

(JE) continued to exist after the compilation of the Deuteronomic Judges, and a post-exilic[2] editor, R^P, restored the portions omitted by R^D, editing them after his own fashion. The ground for supposing that these sections were omitted by R^D is that they bear no traces of Deuteronomic style, and do not fit into the Deuteronomic framework. The accounts of the Minor Judges may have been added by R^P.

(c) *Chronology and History.*—The preponderance in the dates of Judges, and of the history of Moses and Samuel of the number "forty" and its multiples and fractions, shows that the system of chronology has been constructed on the basis of reckoning forty years to a generation. Probably this chronology is due to the author who states that 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple; the period was made up of twelve generations of forty years each. We have thus to consider the chronology of Judges in connection with that of the whole period of 480 years. The data may be arranged as follows:—

[1] Not necessarily the same as R^D in the Hexateuch and elsewhere.

[2] Not the R^P of the Pentateuch.

(i) *Periods outside the Book of Judges.*

Moses	40	
Joshua	x	
* * *		
Eli	40	(Heb.) 20 (LXX.)
Samuel	y	
Saul	z	
David	40	
Solomon[1]	4	
	124+x+y+z	
or	104+x+y+z	

(ii) *The Greater Judges.*

Othniel	40
Ehud	80
Barak	40
Gideon	40
Jephthah	6[2]
Samson	20
	226[3]

(iii) *The Periods of Oppression.*

Cushan-rishathaim	8
Eglon	18
Jabin	20
Midianites	7
Ammonites	18
	71

The 40 years oppression of the Philistines, xiii. 1, is clearly synchronous with the 20 years of Samson + the 20 years (LXX.) of Eli, and is therefore not to be reckoned.

(iv) *Minor Judges.*

Tola	23
Jair	22
Ibzan	7
Elon	10
Abdon	8
	70

If Abimelech's 3 years be added we get 73 years.

[1] Before Building of Temple.

[2] LXX., Vat., etc., 60.

[3] Or without Jephthah, 220.

The sum of i.–iv. is $534+x+y+z$ if the Philistine oppression and the reigns of Abimelech and Saul are included, and if forty years (Hebrew Text) are given to Eli. But the Philistine oppression should be omitted;[1] Abimelech and Saul were probably left out of the reckoning as illegitimate, and the synchronism of the Philistine oppression with Samuel and Eli requires us to accept the LXX. number 20 for Eli. Thus the whole period from the Exodus to the Temple works out at $471+x+y$. As $x+y$, the headships of Joshua and Samuel must have occupied much more than nine years, this result is strikingly at variance with the 480 years of Kings. The easiest solution is to allow Joshua and Samuel the usual 40 years each, and to suppose that R^D omitted (iii.) from his reckoning on the assumption that the judgeships were continuous. Thus we get

$$471+x+y-71=471+40+40-71=480,$$

and the R^D chronology of Judges agrees with the R^D period in Kings.

Either then we may omit the Minor Judges as outside of the original scheme of chronology, and added by R^P to supply Judges for the interregna of the oppressions,[2] on the theory that as soon as one judge died, he was always immediately succeeded by another. Or we may omit the oppressions, and suppose that each oppression was reckoned to the reign of the following judge. On the former theory, the twelve generations are Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, David, Solomon.

The date of the building of the Temple is about 970, which, according to R^D, gives us 1450 for the Exodus, apparently much too early; *cf.* § 28 (b).

(d) *Greek Versions.*—There are two separate[3] versions, one represented by most of the uncials, the other by various cursives, etc., and by Lucian's recension.

[1] See above.

[2] The discrepancy of a year will be due to some error in the transmission of the text.

[3] Apart from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

(e) *Contents.*—i. 1-ii. 5, J; *except* 1*a*α 4, 8*f.*, 18, *ii.* 1-5 = R^P, Conquest of Canaan.

Not a sequel to the Book of Joshua, but a parallel account, much of which has already been given in that book. Verses 11-15, 21,[1] 27 f., 29, 34=Joshua xv. 14-19, 63, xvii. 11 ff., xvi. 10, xix. 47 (LXX.). Either J gave no account of Joshua or of the combined action of all Israel, and only narrated the conquests of single tribes or of groups of tribes; or J narrated the doings of Joshua and united Israel up to the battle of Beth-horon, and then, as here, the conquests of single tribes, etc. Possibly the editor who prefixed "After the death of Joshua" has removed Joshua's name from the paragraph on Ephraim and Manasseh.

This is one of the sections supposed to have been included in (JE), removed by R^D and replaced by R^P.

II. 6-XV. Deuteronomic Book of Judges.

ii. 6-iii. 6, R^D *on a basis of* E, *with additions by* R^P. Introduction, explaining that the Israelites suffered defeat and oppression because they worshipped "other gods," but were delivered by judges because Jehovah had compassion on their misery.

iii. 7-11, R^D, Othniel delivers from Cushan-rishathaim.

iii. 12-30 (JE); *except* 12-15*a*, 30 = R^D, Ehud delivers from Eglon.

iii. 31, R^P, Shamgar ben-Anath kills 600 Philistines.

The absence of R^D formulæ shows that this was not in R^D's Judges. Shamgar is ignored in iv. 1. The name was obtained from v. 6, the Song of Deborah, and was perhaps inserted to make up *twelve* judges, after excluding Abimelech.

iv. f. (JE); *including an ancient poem, the Song of Deborah, v.* 2-31*a*, *and additions of* R^D, *viz., iv.* 1*ff.*, 23*f.*, *v.* 31*b*; *and* R^P, *viz., v.* 1, Deborah and Barak deliver from Jabin and Sisera.

The Song is almost universally accepted as a contemporary poem, possibly by Deborah herself. The absence of any traces of Deuteronomic revision, and the presence of some words and idioms apparently characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew, suggest that this poem was not included either in (JE) or the Deuteronomic Judges, but was preserved either independently or in some collection of poems, and was inserted here by R^P after a revision necessitated by the fact that many words and idioms had become obsolete. Owing to the joint effect of the extreme antiquity of the poem and of the attempt at revision, parts of it are unintelligible, *e.g.*, 14a. This Song is often considered to be the oldest extant piece of Hebrew literature, *e.g.*, Nowack.

[1] R^P has substituted Benjamites for Judahites.

vi. ff. (JE); *except vi.* 1–7, *viii.* 27*b*, 28, 33*ff.* = R^D, *and editorial additions by* R^P, Gideon delivers from the Midianites.

Two stories are combined: in one (J?), Gideon is instructed by the Angel of Jehovah, the princes of Midian are Zebah and Zalmunna, and Gideon sets up an ephod-idol at Ophrah; in the other (E?), Jehovah speaks to him in the night, *i.e.*, in a dream, he destroys the altar of Baal and the Asherah, and the princes of Midian are Oreb and Zeeb.

ix. (JE); *omitted by* R^D, *restored by* R^P, Abimelech.

x. 1–5, *Either* (JE), *omitted by* R^D, *restored by* R^P; *or first added by* R^P, Two "Minor Judges," Tola and Jair.

x. 6–xii. 7 (JE); *except x.* 6–16,* *xii.* 7 = R^D, Jephthah delivers from the Ammonites.

The account of Jephthah's negotiations with the king of the Ammonites, xi. 12–28, does not belong to (J) or (E), but to one of the editors, perhaps R^{JE}.

xii. 8–15, *Same source as x.* 1–5, Three "Minor Judges," Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon.

xiii. ff. (J); *except xiii.* 1, *xv.* 20 = R^D, and *editorial additions* of R^P, Samson and the Philistines.

XVI.–XXI., SECTIONS OF (JE), OMITTED BY R^D, RESTORED AND EDITED BY R^P.

xvi. (J), Samson and Delilah, His Captivity and Death.

xvii. f. (JE), Micah's Idols, Migration of the Danites.

xix. (JE), Outrage at Gibeah.

xx. f., R^P *on basis of JE*, War of the other Tribes against Benjamin to punish the Outrage. Wives provided for the surviving Benjamites.

These chapters are compiled from the older story in the same fashion as Joshua xxii., perhaps by the same hand.

(f) *Use in N.T.*—There are three or four references to the history.

30. **Ruth.**

(a) *Authorship, Date, and Object.*—The author's name is entirely unknown. The indications of time are conflicting. The post-exilic origin of the genealogy, iv. 8–22, is shown by its use of some of the formulæ of the Priestly Code; but, as

these verses are a later addition,[1] this does not show that the rest of the book—to which we may now confine ourselves—is post-exilic.

The language has points of contact with the pre-exilic literature,[2] but also with post-exilic books; moreover, there are Aramaisms.

The customs connected with the marriage of a *Goel*[3] with his kinsman's widow are spoken of as obsolete[4]; and differ from those prescribed in Deuteronomy xxv. 5–10.

The mention of David in iv. 17, shows that it is not earlier than his reign.

The book is not included in the historical books, or first section of the "Prophets" in the Hebrew Canon, but is placed amongst the "Hagiographa," as one of a group of Five Megilloth or Rolls.

Upon these facts the following conflicting views have been based :—

(i.) The book was written before the Exile out of interest in the family history of David, and perhaps also to inculcate marriage with a kinsman's widow.[5] The Aramaisms are due to use of dialect, except in iv. 7, which is a gloss. This view removes the statement that the custom was obsolete. The differences from Deuteronomy[6] show that the latter was not in existence, and that therefore our book is earlier than B.C. 621. As LXX. places Ruth after Judges, it is suggested—not very plausibly—that Ruth was originally an appendix to Judges, and was afterwards removed into the Hagiographa.

(ii.) The book is a post-exilic work based on a pre-exilic narrative.[7] This view would explain the mixture of styles.

(iii.) The book is a post-exilic work, written as a protest

[1] BERTHOLET, DRIVER, etc., etc.
[2] The early portions of Samuel, Kings, etc.
[3] R.V., "near kinsman."
[4] "This was *the custom* in former time in Israel," iv. 7.
[5] DRIVER.
[6] *Cf.* also Deuteronomy xxiii. 3.
[7] KÖNIG.

against the prohibition of mixed marriages by Ezra and Nehemiah.[1] The classical vocabulary and idioms are due to the author's familiarity with Samuel, Kings, etc., whose style and spirit he imitated; but the Aramaisms, etc., betray the post-exilic origin. The custom of marriage with a near kinsman was obsolete; and the writer, who was not in sympathy with Deuteronomy, describes it according to popular recollection, and not in terms of the law in Deuteronomy. The position in the Hagiographa points to a post-exilic origin.

In any case there is, doubtless, a historical basis[2]; some connection of David with Moab seems indicated by his committing his father and mother to the protection of the king of Moab.[3] Whenever the book was written, the author would not have invented a Moabite ancestress for David, he must have had the authority of an accepted tradition. David's genealogy is used in those of Christ.

31. **Samuel.**

(a) *Title and Divisions.*—Hebrew and R.V., *Samuel;* LXX., *i.* and *ii. Kings;* Vulg. and A.V. combine the two titles; all with reference to the contents. Our two books originally formed a single book, and are so treated in the closing Masoretic note, and were so regarded by the Jews in the time of Origen. The division is first found in the LXX., from which it passed into the Vulg. and other versions, and into the printed editions of the Hebrew Text.[4]

(b) *Analysis and Composition.*—Samuel, also, is compiled from older sources; apart from the poems, there are repetitions, and diversities of style and standpoint; notably, a series of duplicate narratives; *e.g.*, Saul is twice made king, I. x. 24, xi. 15; and twice spared by David, I. xxiv., xxvi.; and Goliath is twice slain, I. xvii., II. xxi. 19. The material may be grouped thus :—

A. *Primitive Narratives*, dealing with Saul and David,

[1] Bertholet; Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, p. 306; Cornill; Kautzsch, *Bibel;* Kayser-Marti, p. 208; Smend, *A. T. Theol.*, p. 409; Nowack.

[2] Bertholet, König, Budde (*ap.* Cornill), see in Ruth a section of the Midrash used by the Chronicler. [3] 1 Samuel xxii. 3 f.

[4] Cornill, Kirkpatrick, Ginsburg, 43, 953.

Saul's first appearance, I. ix. 1, to Solomon's accession, 1 Kings i. ii.; characterised by a human interest in life and a graphic style. They show moral and spiritual feeling, but are rather descriptive than didactic, and thus resemble the Pentateuchal J, to which Budde, etc., ascribe them. Kittel,[1] etc., derive them from *S*, a history of Saul, and *Je.*, a history of David, both of the tenth century, and perhaps by the same author, and *Da.*, a somewhat later history of David. In these narratives the monarchy is regarded with approval as a gift of God.

B. *Secondary Early Narratives*, and C, *Deuteronomic Additions.* The remaining material includes variants of *A* derived from early tradition, dealing with Samuel, Saul, the Ark and David; the list of ministers, II. viii. 16 ff., having been added as a conclusion of this series. Budde ascribes many sections to the Pentateuchal E^1, E^2; and Kittel ascribes some (mostly Ark stories) to the Pentateuchal E, and others to SS, an Ephraimite history of Saul and Samuel, *c.* B.C. 750.

Many sections are ecclesiastical and didactic, magnifying Samuel and the prophets, and regarding the monarchy as an injurious concession to an unwarrantable demand. Here Dt additions are present.

It is doubtful how much is to be ascribed to *B* and how much to *C*. Driver, etc., regard both *B* and *C* as mostly pre-Deuteronomic, though including much that was written B.C. 750–600 under the same influences as those which produced Deuteronomy; while H. P. Smith regards *B* and *C* as Deuteronomic on older sources.

D. *Later Additions*, slight traces of influence of Priestly Code, and additions from various sources.

The above analysis implies pre-Deuteronomic sources or editions, Deuteronomic, and Final Editions. Perhaps the Dt Editor omitted II. ix.–xx., etc., and these sections were restored by the Final Editor (so Budde).

Probably 1 Samuel i.–xii. formed part of the (JE) and

[1] In KAUTZSCH, *Bibel;* H. P. SMITH, *International Com.*, gives a similar analysis, referring most of Samuel to *two* main sources—Sl (early Monarchy), Sm (Exile or later), whose contents are roughly those of Budde's J and E.

R^D Books of Judges. Samuel's Farewell Speech, xii., was probably E's conclusion of the history of Samuel, corresponding to the Farewell Speech, Joshua xxiv., with which E concludes the history of Joshua. The chronological statements in I. iv. 18, and perhaps also in vii. 2, belong to the R^D system of dates. In the sketch of contents, both Budde's[1] and Kittel's analyses are given; omitting, however, many details of the analysis.[2]

(c) *Contents.—First Samuel.*

I-XII., Samuel, Eli, and Saul.

i. (E^2), SS, Samuel born and given to Jehovah.

The ordinary Hexateuch symbols J, E, etc., give Budde's analysis; SS, etc.—for the meaning of which see above—give Kittel's; where only one symbol, etc., is given, Budde and Kittel agree.

ii. 1–10, Song of Hannah.

According to Budde, post-exilic addition, so also Cheyne, *Psalter*, p. 57, "probably"; Kittel, addition from unknown source; Cornill and Driver, under the monarchy. The Song is not appropriate to the occasion, which is only touched upon in passing and in most general terms in 5b. Verse 10 implies either the present or past existence of the kingdom. In style and spirit the Song has much in common with psalms often regarded as post-exilic. It is a national lyric, celebrating some national deliverance.

ii. 11–iii. (E^2), SS; *except that ii. 27–36 in both, and iii. 11–14 in Budde* = R^D, Samuel announces the Doom of Eli's Family, on account of the Wickedness of his Sons.

iv.–vii. 1 (E^1), E; *except iv. 18b β, 22, vi. 15, 17, 18a* = R, Ark lost at Ebenezer, its Wanderings amongst the Philistines, its Restoration to Israel.

vii. 2–viii. (E^2); *except the* "20 years" *of vii. 2* = R^D; *Kittel, vii. 2–17* = R^D*, *viii.* = SS, Repentance of Israel, Victory over the Philistines at Ebenezer, Request for a King.

ix.–x. 16 (J), S, Samuel anoints Saul.

x. 17–27 (E^2), SS; *except 25–27* = R^{JE} (*Budde*), R (*Kittel*), Saul chosen by lot.

xi. (J); *except 12 f.* = R^{JE}; S, *except 12–15* = R, Saul's Victory over the Ammonites.

[1] In Dr. Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament.*

[2] Brackets are used, as in Judges, to indicate that the identification of the sources with J, E, and JE is doubtful.

xii. (E^2), *with small additions by* R^D; *Kittel*, R^D, Samuel's Farewell Speech.

XIII.-XXI., DAVID, SAUL, SAMUEL.

xiii. f. (J), S; *except xiii.* 1, R; 8–15 (J^2), R; 19–22 (J^2), R; *xiv.* 47–51, R^D; also 52 is R *in Kittel*, Victories of Saul and Jonathan over the Philistines, etc.

Either we have, in xiv. 47–51, as above, a conclusion of the history of Saul by R^D, who regarded his legitimate reign as concluded at this point; in the next chapters he is deposed by Samuel, and David is anointed king. Or, this is the conclusion of the history as given in one of the ancient sources, and is placed here by R^D.

xv. (E^1); *except* 24–31, 34 *f.* = (*E^2*), SS, Saul rejected for sparing the Amalekite King.

xvi. 1–13, *Post-exilic Editor*, Samuel anoints David.

xvi. 14–23 (J), Da., David as Saul's Harper and Armour-bearer.

xvii.–xviii. 5 (E^1); *except xvii.* 12, 13, *post-exilic*, *xviii.* 5 = J; SS, *except* 12a, 15 = R, David and Goliath.

LXX. B, etc., omit xvii. 12–31, 38b, 41, 48b, 50, 55–xviii. 5, probably to avoid the contradictions arising from the attempt to treat this and the preceding passage as parts of one continuous narrative. The alternative advocated by Robertson Smith, *Old Testament*, etc., p. 121 ff. and Cornill, p. 101, H. P. Smith, etc., that these passages are additions to the text, introduced from some lost history of David, seems less likely.

xviii. 6–30 (J); *except* 6*a* α*, *$b\beta$*, 12–19 = (E^1); Da., *except* 6*a* α* = R, 12–19, 28–30 = SS, Saul's Jealousy, David Saul's Son-in-law.

LXX. B, etc., omit 17–19, 29b, 30 and smaller fragments; *cf.* above.

xix. (E^1); *except* 18*a*β–24, *post-exilic;* SS, *except* 3, 18–24 = *R*, Temporary Reconciliation, New attempts on David's Life by Saul, David flees to Samuel.

xx.–xxi. 1 (J); *except* 4–17, 40–42 = R^{JE}; Da., *except* 4–10, 12–17 = ?, 40–42 = R, David's Covenant with Jonathan.

xxi. 2–10 (E^1), SS, David at Nob.

xxi. 11–16, *Budde, post-exilic; Kittel* = ?, David at Gath.

xxii.–xxv. (J); *except xxii.* 19, *xxiii.* 14b–18 = (E^1), *xxii.* 5, *post-exilic*, *xxiv.* 21–23*a* α, *xxv.* 1 = R^{JE}; Da., *except xxii.* = SS, *xxiii.* 6, 14–18, *xxv.* 1 = R, David at Adullam, Massacre of

the Priests at Nob, David at Keilah and Ziph, spares Saul at Engedi, Nabal.

xxvi. (E^1), SS, David spares Saul in the Wilderness of Ziph.

xxvii.–xxxi. (J); *except xxviii.* 3 = R^D, *xxviii.* 16*ff.* = R^{JE}; Da., *except* xxviii. 3, 17*f.* = R, David tributary to Achish, Philistine Campaign against Saul, Saul and the Witch of Endor, David's Feud with the Amalekites, Defeat and Death of Saul.

xxviii. 3–25 should come after xxx.

Second Samuel.

I.–VIII., David's Reign.

i.–iv. (J); *except i.* 6–11, 13–16 = (E^1), *ii.* 10*a*, 11 = R^D; Da., *except* i. 6–16 = SS, *i.* 5, *ii.* 10*a*, 11, *iii.* 30, *iv.* 4 = R, *ii.* 13–16, *iii.* 2–5 = ?, Lament over Saul and Jonathan, David reigns at Hebron, Ishbaal at Mahanaim, Civil War between them, Abner and Ishbaal murdered.

The Lament is generally ascribed to David. On the Book of Jashar see § (28*d*), Ishbosheth is a corruption of the more accurate Ishbaal, E.V. Eshbaal, preserved in 1 Chronicles viii. 33, ix. 39; *cf.* Mephibosheth, ix.

v. (J); *except* 4*f.* = R^D; Da., *except* 3, 6–16 = Je., 4 f. = R, David King over All Israel, Capture of Jerusalem, Alliance with Hiram, Victories over the Philistines.

According to Budde, numerous passages in i.–viii., xxi.–xxiv. have been transposed from their original position.

vi. (J), Je., Ark brought to Zion.

vii. (E^2); R^D *on basis of* Je., David forbidden to build the Temple, but promised a Permanent Dynasty.

viii. (J); *except* 1–7 = R^D; 11*f.* = R^P; Kittel, R (?), David's Victories over Moab, Syria, and Edom.

Verses 14b–18 are evidently the conclusion of a history of David's reign. Cornill suggests that they were composed to replace ix.–xx. by an editor who considered the latter chapters damaging to David's reputation. It may, however, be the conclusion of one of the older narratives of the reign of David.

IX.–XX., David's Court and Family History.

Budde (J); *except xii.* 7*f.*, 10*ff.* = R^D, *xiv.* 25*ff.*, *xv.* 24,* "*Levites*" *and* "*Covenant*," *xx.* 23–26, *post-exilic glosses.*

Kittel, Je.; *except xii.* 10 *ff.*, *xv.* 24,* "*Levites*" *and* "*Covenant*" = R *or glosses.*

ix., Meribbaal and Ziba.

Mephibosheth is a correction for the more accurate Meribbaal, preserved in 1 Chronicles viii. 34, ix. 40; *cf.* on Ishbaal, i.–iv.

x. ff., War with Ammon and Syria; Uriah, Bathsheba.

xiii.–xix., ABSALOM, Tamar and Amnon, Exile and Return, Revolt, Defeat and Death, David's Return, Meribbaal and Ziba.

xx., Sheba's Revolt.

In xx. 23–26 we have the formal close to this account of David's reign.

XXI.–XXIV., APPENDICES.

xxi. 1–14 (J); *except in 2 f. the words between* "*said unto them*" *and* "*what shall I do*" = R^{JE}; *Kittel* = ?, *R in 2 f. as above.* To avert the famine caused by Saul's attempt to massacre the Gibeonites, seven of Saul's descendants are handed over to the Gibeonites, who hang them.

This incident, no doubt, took place at the beginning of David's reign. Budde transposes the section, and places it before the first Meribbaal narrative, viii., to which it would form a suitable introduction.

xxi. 15–22 (J), Da., Feats of David's Heroes against the Philistines, Elhanan kills Goliath of Gath.

Budde places this section after v. 25. It is in apparent contradiction with the narrative of David and Goliath (E^1), SS. The text of verse 19 is corrupt, but the reading of 1 Chronicles xx. 5, "the brother of Goliath," seems an obvious correction.[1] Kittel, Budde, etc. read "Elhanan ben-Jair the Bethlemite."

xxii., *Budde, late post-exilic addition; Kittel* = ?, 1 = R; Psalm xviii.

Probably, like most of the poems in the historical books, inserted from a collection of poems; in this case, either from the Psalter, or from one of the earlier collections which were incorporated in the Psalter. The heading is the same as in the Psalter. The differences between this chapter and the Psalm are textual, not editorial, and are similar in character and extent to those found between the texts of a chapter of the Greek text, in two MSS., belonging to quite different groups. The section xxii. 1–xxiii. 7 interrupts the connection.

[1] Imitated here by A.V., one of the places where the anxiety of A.V. to harmonise inconsistent passages overcomes its usual deference to the Masoretic Text.

xxiii. 1-7, *Budde, late post-exilic addition; Kittel* = ?, *the heading by* R, Last Words of David.

A poem describing the character and blessedness of an ideal king, and the hateful character and certain doom of the wicked. Budde's and Kittel's view is that of Cornill, p. 108. Cheyne, *Psalter*, 205 f., assigns it to the Exile.

xxiii. 8-39 (J), Da., David's Heroes and their Feats.

Placed by Budde with xxi. 15-22, of which it is the continuation, after v. 25.

xxiv. (J); *Kittel* = ?, Census punished by Plague, which is stayed by sacrifice on the site of the future Temple.

Closely connected with xxi. 1-14, and placed by Budde between viii. and xxi. 1. In i. Kings, chaps. 1 f. are practically the conclusion of the Book of Samuel; *cf.* thereon in Kings.

(e) *Use in N.T.*—There are a few references to the history; among them, our Lord's appeal (Matthew xii. 3 ff.) to Abimelech's gift of the shewbread to David, I. xxi., as a justification of the disciples plucking corn on the Sabbath. The promise to David's dynasty, II. vii. 14, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son," is applied to Christ (Hebrews i. 5.)

32. **Kings.**

(a) *Title and Divisions.*—Hebrew and R.V., i. and ii. Kings; LXX., iii. and iv. Kings; Vulg. and A.V. combine both forms of the titles. Originally a single book; the division was made by the LXX., from which it found its way into the other versions and the printed editions of the Hebrew.[1]

(b) *Analysis and Composition.*—Up to a certain point Kings presents the same phenomena as the previous books. There are obvious traces of pre-Deuteronomic sources, of Deuteronomic material, and of later post-exilic additions; and it is clear that an edition of Kings was included in the great Deuteronomic history or series of histories, Genesis–Kings,[2] compiled during or soon after the Exile.

On the other hand, Kings differs in important respects from

[1] GINSBURG, pp. 45, 953. [2] Ruth, as always, excepted.

the preceding books. (i.) The Deuteronomic material is much more extensive than in Samuel. (ii.) Whereas in Judges and Samuel, the work of R^D was confined in each case to re-editing a pre-Deuteronomic book, possibly a section of JE; in Kings, R^D had no such earlier edition to work upon, but himself compiled the book from various sources. (iii.) J and E, if present in Kings at all,[1] supply only a small portion of the material; and the main source or sources are a work or works constantly cited as "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," "The Book of the Chronicles[2] of the Kings of Judah," and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel."

Our book is clearly later than the release of Jehoiachin, 561[3]; but probably not much later, for this section is the conclusion of the author's work, there is nothing extant which can be a sequel by the same hand; the insertion of this section shows the author's anxiety to bring his work up to date, and seems to be the last important event known to him when he wrote. On these and other grounds, the extant edition of Kings may be assigned to the second half of the Exile,[4] or to a date soon after the Exile.

But the work of the exilic or post-exilic Deuteronomist to whom we owe Kings, was merely that of an editor, who brought an earlier R^D book up to date, and co-ordinated it with the Deuteronomic editions of Genesis–Kings. Apart from xxiii. 26—xxv. 30, which were added by the later Deuteronomist, the rest of the book, in substance, was the work of an earlier Deuteronomist, writing soon after 621, possibly towards the close of Josiah's reign, or in that of Jehoiachin. This earlier R^D, the real author of Kings, writes from the standpoint of the Jewish monarchy, as still existing, and existing alone; *e.g.*, II. xvii. 18, 21–23.[5] So, too, the phrase "unto this day" is used in R^D passages, in a way that

[1] See on I. i. f., II. xx. ff.

[2] Of course, not *our* "Chronicles."

[3] II. xxv. 27–30.

[4] Apart from insertions by post-exilic editors, see on I. 13, etc., which did not substantially alter the book.

[5] Verses 19 f., which interrupt the connection, are a later insertion.

shows that "this day" was a time when the Jewish monarchy still existed.[1]

Amongst other material, the Deuteronomic authors furnished the introductory and closing formulæ to the various reigns, including the judgment on the character of the kings; and also a series of references to the sinful toleration of the high places, obviously written from the standpoint of Deuteronomy. The scheme of chronology and the synchronisms between the reigns of Jewish and Israelite kings are commonly ascribed to the later R^D, because they are sometimes at variance with the history, as given in the body of the book,[2] *i.e.*, as compiled by the earlier R^D. The R^D authors will have found their data—the lengths of the reigns—in the older sources.

The main sources used by R^D were the "Books" referred to above. Those dealing with Solomon and the kings of Judah, or even all three "Books," may be sections of one work. These books are not supposed to have been the official annals of the two kingdoms, but compilations from those annals. The material apparently derived from the "Books" had neither the dry matter-of-fact character nor the cautious reserve of official archives; and shows a special interest in ritual and the Temple.[3] If the "Book" on Judah was used for the reign of Hezekiah, and possibly even for that of Jehoiachin,[4] it must have been compiled in Hezekiah's, or even in Jehoiachin's reign. The latter seems impossible, it is too near to the latest possible date for the pre-exilic R^D, and is also excluded by the absence of traces of Deuteronomic influence from the material supposed to be derived from the "Books." Hezekiah's reign would not be an improbable date for the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," and if the other two "Books" are not sections or variant titles for parts of the same work, they may be earlier; but as they

[1] II. viii. 22, xvi. 6.

[2] CORNILL, p. 116, WELLHAUSEN, *Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 300.

[3] Unless the sections dealing with the latter are from another source.

[4] So KAMPHAUSEN in KAUTZSCH, *Bibel*.

seem to have been very similar in character, not much earlier. Early documents, J or an early history of David, E, ninth century prophetic narratives of Northern Israel are also distinguished, and apparently were not parts of the "Books."

If the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" is referred to the reign of Hezekiah, II. xxiv. 5, which cites it for Jehoiakim, is either a mistaken imitation by the later R^D of the formula of the earlier R^D, or the "Book" itself was supplemented and used by the exilic R^D. One is tempted to suggest that the "Acts" and the two "Books" were a Deuteronomic work or works used by the later R^D.

Strictly speaking, our book does not state that the "Acts" and "Books" are the authorities for its statements, but refers the reader to them for further information; but, doubtless, as is generally taken for granted, the work or works in question were one of the chief sources used by the author of Kings. The sections of Kings derived from the "Books" are sometimes spoken of as the "Epitome," and, of course, owe their present form to the selection and arrangement made by the pre-exilic R^D.

(c) *Chronology.*—The duration of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah furnishes two sets of data for the chronology, and the synchronisms bring the two into relation with each other. The two sets of data, however, are *primâ facie* inconsistent, *e.g.*, the period from the accession of Athaliah and Jehu to the fall of Samaria is 165 years according to the Judahite reigns, but 143 years 7 months according to the Israelite reigns. While, according to the Assyrian dates, the interval must have been less than 132 years. By a free use of co-regencies between father and son, and of other uncertain elements in the data—such as whether the year of a king's death counts both to him and his successors—these, or any, discrepancies may be harmonised. But it is scarcely worth while to take the trouble, for Kings affords further evidence of what has already appeared in Judges, namely, that the Deuteronomic chronology is partly controlled by *a priori* theories. I. vi. 1 states that 480 years elapsed from the Exodus to the building of the Temple; the Judahite reigns, etc. give 480 years from the building of the Temple to the Return;[1] the total Israelite reigns amount to 242 years, which

[1] An argument for the post-exilic date of the later R^D.

may reasonably be corrected to 240 years, the half of 480. Evidently sets of twelve and six generations of forty years each. The discrepancies when the two sets of data are closely compared may be due to the fact that one or other of the editors overlooked the fact that, owing to the adjustment of the figures to his theory of six and twelve generations, his sum would not "prove." Nevertheless for Kings, R^D probably had accurate data, and has not seriously departed from them.[1]

(d) *Contents and Archæology.*

First Kings.

I., II., Conclusion of the History of David, Adonijah's Conspiracy, Solomon Anointed, Death of David, Execution of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei, Banishment of Abiathar.

With the exception of ii. 27, a later addition, and ii. 1–11, which has been edited by R^D, chapters i., ii. are the conclusion of the early history of David, which Budde ascribes to J; *cf.* § 31.

III.–XI., Solomon.

iii., Pharaoh's Daughter, Solomon's Choice and Judgment.

Pre-Deuteronomic; *except* 2*f.*, 14*f.* = R^D. How far the pre-Deuteronomic sections in iii.–xi. come from the Book of the Acts of Solomon, xi. 41, or from "prophetical narratives," is matter of controversy.

iv. 1–14, Solomon's Ministers, Splendour, and Wisdom.

Substantially pre-Deuteronomic.

v. 15–ix. 9, The Temple—Treaty with Hiram and other Preparations, its Building. Palaces, Pillars, Furniture, etc. Jehovah appears again to Solomon.

Pre-Deuteronomic groundwork, to which the following are the chief additions: R^D, *vi.* 1 (*later*), 7, 11–13, *viii.* 1–9,* 14–66,* *ix.* 1–9; late priestly writers, "the Most Holy Place," in *vi.* 16, *vii.* 48–50, *viii.* 1*aa*, 2*aa*, 4 *from* "*And the Tent of Meeting*," 5, "the Most Holy Place" *in* 6. LXX. omits "the Tent of Meeting, and all the holy vessels that were in the Tent," in v. 6; its reading in 12 probably shows that the original cited this verse from the *Book of Jashar*, *cf.* on Joshua x. 12; lxx. places 12 f. after 53.

ix. 10–x., Cession to Hiram, Acquisition of Gezer, Corvée, Commerce, Queen of Sheba, Splendour and Power.

Substantially pre-Deuteronomic, from various sources.

[1] *Cf.* "Chronology" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and Wellhausen, *Composition of Hexateuch*, p. 300, Benzinger, *Kings*, xviii.–xxi.

xi., Solomon's Harem, Worship of Strange Gods, Adversaries and Death.

Deuteronomic; *except* 14–28, 40, taken from one of the older sources.

XII.–XVI., JEROBOAM TO AHAB.

xii. 1–31., Division into Two Kingdoms, under Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

Pre-Deuteronomic; *except* 26–29 = R^D.

xii. 32–xiii., Mission of Anonymous Prophet to Jeroboam at Bethel, the Prophet's Disobedience and Death.

Post-exilic addition, Benzinger, etc.

xiv. 1–20, Abijah pronounces the Doom of Jeroboam and his House, Death of Jeroboam.

Deuteronomic.

xiv. 21–31, Rehoboam, Shishak.

Pre-Deuteronomic; *except* the formulæ. Shishak, *c.* 966–933, in his inscription in the temple of Amon at Karnak states that he captured cities both in Judah and Israel.

xv. f., Abijah, Asa, of Judah; Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, Ahab, of Israel.

Deuteronomic epitome from the "Book of the Chronicles"; xvi. 2–4, perhaps composed by R^D, or even later.

In the Assyrian inscriptions, Omri is mentioned as paying tribute to Asurnazirpal in 876; Israel is often spoken of as the "House of Omri"; Ahab is mentioned in a list of Syrian kings whom Shalmaneser II. claims to have defeated at Karkar on the Orontes in 854.

On the Moabite Stone, Mesha, King of Moab, tells how Omri oppressed Moab, and how, under him (Mesha), Moab, by the grace of Chemosh, recovered its independence, and captured many towns from Gad. This narrative is the sequel to ii. Kings iii., or *vice versa*.

XVII.—SECOND KINGS. XIII.—ELIJAH AND ELISHA.

In these chapters, the bulk of the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha are referred to ninth century prophetical documents of the Northern Kingdom, denoted below by EL. Other long and graphic accounts of the Wars of Israel and Syria, and the overthrow of the House of Omri, are referred to another northern document, perhaps the Hexateuchal E.[1]

xvii. ff., EL., Elijah—Famine, Cherith, Zarephath, Victory over Baal at Carmel, Theophany at Horeb, Calling of Elisha.

xx. (E), Ahab's Victories over Benhadad.

The account of the anonymous prophet, 13 f., 22, 28, 35–43, is regarded by Wellhausen, Benzinger, and Kamphausen as a later addition, according to the latter, post-exilic.

[1] So KAMPHAUSEN; BENZINGER, xx., xxii., 9th cent. hist. of Ahab.

xxi., EL.; *except* 20*b*–26 = R^D, Naboth's Vineyard.

xxii. 1–38 (E), Ahab and Jehoshaphat at Ramoth Gilead, Micaiah's Warning, Death of Ahab.

xxii. 39–54, Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ahaziah of Israel.

Deuteronomic epitome from the "Books of the Chronicles."

SECOND KINGS.

i., Ahaziah's Sickness and Death, Elijah calls down Fire from Heaven.

Verses 1, 18, belong to the Deuteronomic epitome; 2–17 are held to be a late post-exilic addition on an earlier basis; Benzinger, 2–4, 17*a* = EL., 5–16 belong to time of earlier R^D.

ii., EL., Elijah's Ascension, Elisha succeeds him.

This chapter and the succeeding sections of EL., dealing with Elisha, probably belong to a document, different from, but allied to the document from which the earlier sections dealing with Elijah, were taken.

iii. (E); *except* 1 *ff.* = R^{D*}, War of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the King of Edom against Moab. *Cf.* on I. *xv. f.*

iv.–vi. 23, EL., Elisha's Miracles—Widow's Oil, Shunamitess, Death in the Pot, Feeding a Multitude, Naaman, Gehazi, Floating Axe-head, Syrian Army beguiled into Samaria and released.

vi. 24–vii. (E), Benhadad besieges Samaria, Famine, Deliverance foretold by Elisha, Flight of the Besiegers.

viii. 1–15, EL., Elisha commends the Shunamitess to the king, and anoints Hazael.

viii. 16–29, Jehoram and Ahaziah of Judah.

Deuteronomic epitome.

ix. f. (E); *except ix.* 7–10*a*, 14, 15*a*, 29, *x.* 28–31 = R^D; *x.* 32–36 = *Deuteronomic epitome*, Jehu slays Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Jezebel, becomes king, and massacres the family of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, Victories of Hazael, Jehu's reign and death.

From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., King of Assyria, now in the British Museum, we learn that Shalmaneser defeated Hazael in 842, and that Jehu sent tribute to the Assyrian king, which is depicted on it.

xi.–xiii. 13, Athaliah's Usurpation, Athaliah slain and Joash of Judah crowned, Reign of Joash, Repair of the Temple, Joash of Israel.

Deuteronomic compilation from "Books of the Chronicles," and perhaps other older sources, *e.g.*, in *xi.* 13–18*a*. The identity of xiii. 12 f., with xiv. 15 f., is due to some accident, perhaps connected with the successive editings.

xiii. 14–21, EL.; 22, 24 f.,* *Pre-Deuteronomic;* 23, R^D, Death of Elisha, Hazael's Victories and Death, Victories of Joash.

XIV.–XXV., CLOSING PERIOD OF THE MONARCHY.

xiv. f., Amaziah of Judah, Joash of Israel defeats Amaziah, Jeroboam II. of Israel, Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah, Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem of Israel; Invasion of Pul, King of Assyria, to whom Menahem pays tribute; Pekahiah and Pekah of Israel; Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, carries captive Galilee and Gilead; Jotham of Judah.

Deuteronomic epitome, in which xiv. 5 f. and the framework, etc. of the formulæ are added by the compiler.

Pul was the founder of a new Assyrian dynasty, who assumed the title of Tiglath-Pileser III., 745–727. His inscriptions record campaigns in Phœnicia, Syria and Palestine, tribute paid by Azariah of Judah, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria.

xvi. f., Ahaz of Judah, Ahaz attacked by Pekah and Rezin, purchases the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, who attacks Damascus and Israel; Hoshea of Israel, Siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser IV., Fall of Samaria, Captivity of Israel, Settlement of Eastern Tribes in the territory of Israel.

Deuteronomic epitome, in which xvii. 7–41 is an epilogue to the history of Israel by the Deuteronomic editors.

The Assyrian inscriptions record Tiglath-Pileser's subjugation of Syria and Israel, the deportation of Israelites to Assyria, the annexation of part of the territory of Israel, the murder of Pekah by his subjects, the appointment of Hoshea by Tiglath-Pileser, to whom his nominee paid tribute, also how Sargon II., 722–705, took Samaria, and carried the Israelites away captive in 722.

xviii. ff., Hezekiah—Suppression of the High Places, Fall of Samaria, Deliverance from Sennacherib, Illness and Recovery, Embassy of Merodach Baladan.

Deuteronomic compilation from older sources, in which *xviii.* 4*b*–7, 12, *etc.* are additions of the editors. The prophecies, *xix.* 21–28, 32–34, are, according to Driver, p. 187, unquestionably Isaiah's, and, if so, may have been borrowed by the editor from an early collection of Isaiah's writings. Cheyne and Duhm deny that they are Isaiah's; if so, they will be late additions to Kings. The section *xviii.* 17–*xx.* 19 has been borrowed from here with some abridgment by the author of *Isaiah xxxvi–xxxix.*

The events in *xx.* 1–19, Illness, Embassy, took place before those of xviii. f.

An inscription of Sennacherib tells how he defeated the Egyptians at Eltekeh, laid waste Judah, carried off more than 200,000 captives and much spoil, and received tribute from Hezekiah. Naturally, he does not mention the catastrophe which befell his army; but, on the other hand, he does not claim to have taken Jerusalem. The Babylonian Chronicle states that S. was assassinated by his son.

xxi.–xxiv. 5, Manasseh, Amon; Josiah—Repair of Temple, Discovery of the Law, Suppression of the High Places, Passover, Defeat by Pharaoh Necho at Megiddo, Death. Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim.

For the most part a free composition by the author of Kings, *i.e.*, the earlier Deuteronomic editor who had access to contemporary information for this period. The "Book of the Chronicle," however, is still cited for all these kings, except Jehoahaz, so that some use was made of that authority, although some or all of the references are the work of a later editor. The speech of Huldah, *xxii.* 15–20, is regarded as the work of the later Deuteronomic editor, substituted for a parallel section in the first edition of Kings; *xxiii.* 26 *f.* is from the same hand. If the work of the earlier Deuteronomic editor concluded with Josiah's Reformation, *xxiii.* 26–*xxiv.* 5 must be ascribed to the later editor.

xxiv. 6–xxv., Jehoiachin, First Captivity of Judah; Zedekiah, Fall of Jerusalem, Final Captivity of Judah; Release of Jehoiachin.

Composed by the later Deuteronomic editor. The editor of the Book of Jeremiah has borrowed, with slight changes, *xxiv.* 18–*xxv.* 21, *xxv.* 27–30=*Jeremiah lii.* 1–27, 31–34. Nebuchadnezzar's numerous inscriptions are taken up with his buildings and offerings in Babylon, and do not record his campaigns in Judah.

(d) *Use in N.T.*—There are a few references to the history, especially to Solomon, Elijah, and Elisha.

33. Teaching of the Historical Books.

(a) *History.*—The crucial events and main lines of the History of Israel—the Exodus, the Conquest, the establishment, development, and fall of the Monarchy—are guaranteed by the internal evidence of the narratives, and from the time of Ahab,[1] by the witness of the monuments and by secular literature.

[1] Before Ahab, we have direct evidence from the monuments as to isolated events, and constructive evidence bearing on the history generally; but from the renewal of the Assyrian advance westward, about the time of Ahab, we have a fairly continuous Assyrian and Chaldean history running parallel to, and on the whole confirming the history in Kings.

This history obviously serves for warning and example; its lessons are mostly pointed out by the prophets. Also, in conjunction with the prophetical writings, our books record the discipline by which God educated Israel, and the providential dealings by which He prepared the way for Christ.

(b) *Symbolic Narratives.*—Some, however, of the narratives are not generally accepted as literal history. Genealogies, etc., especially in Genesis, are often supposed to give tribal history and state tribal relationships in terms of the individual and the family. If this is the case, we merely lose one kind of information and gain another. In other cases, as in the chapters on the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, etc., the narrative is commonly held to be a kind of parable or allegory, rather than actual history. Again, when we recognise that we have parables and not history, we incur no loss of spiritual teaching; we change the form in which the lessons are taught, and perhaps even add to their force and significance. Some of the deepest and strongest religious experiences express themselves, consciously or unconsciously, through the dramatic picturesqueness of parable and allegory. It was so with Christ. In many ways, neither biography nor autobiography are so impressive or convincing as the symbolic narrative. The latter is the more candid and faithful, and by its means the seer can set forth the truth he has learnt from his personal experience, without the limitations and obscurities of a personal narrative. Much of the gospel is set forth in such parables as the Prodigal Son, which have ever been mighty to convince and save. How many Church histories, how many biographies of eminent divines would we not gladly sacrifice rather than lose the *Pilgrim's Progress?* The great revelations which came to primitive Israel naturally found expression in such narratives. They may not be literal history, but they none the less bear true witness that, in those far off days, God spoke to man, and man heard, and, in some measure, understood.

(c) *The Selection and Transmission of the Narratives.*—Our narratives, whether historical or symbolical, are the survivors of a much more numerous company. They are extant through

a spiritual survival of the fittest, as the conquerors in a spiritual struggle for existence. In the long process of repeated editings, inspired men were guided to choose the good and reject the evil, and the inspired Church within the nation was guided to accept and canonise the results of their labours. Thus it is that we have the noble and simple narratives of the Old Testament instead of the immoral and grotesque legends of polytheism. And where something is preserved the teaching of which was not accurate in the light of a fuller revelation, the editors have been careful to place some better expressions of the truth in the same context. Thus our narratives not only set forth, historically or symbolically, the experiences of the man or generation with which they originated, but also of countless subsequent generations who reiterated and accepted them. They stand in our Bible, because the spiritual truths they set forth have been recognised again and again by the hearts and consciences of men. As our own hearts respond to them, we share a fellowship of man with God, which began when these stories were first told, before the beginnings of history, and has continued ever since.

(d) *The Law.*—In many respects the social legislation represents a higher ideal than any Christian state or Church has ever seriously attempted to realise. The land laws, for instance, seek to provide every Israelite family with an independent means of livelihood. In other matters, many provisions which are not according to present Christian standards, nevertheless marked a distinct advance in justice and humanity. Thus slavery is permitted, but each successive code seeks to improve the condition of slaves. Similarly, ritual regulations, which do not appeal to us, suitably expressed the religious feelings of their times, and replaced others of a lower order. Even the multiplicity and minuteness of the Priestly Code testify to a profound conviction of the reality of the relations between Israel and Jehovah, and to the urgent necessity that the nation should be in right relations to its God. With certain necessary modifications, we may apply to the laws of

the Priestly Code what Canon Illingworth says of ethnic ritual. We should not speak of the Levitical regulations as "puerile," or even "human enough," though there is a large human element; but if the ethnic rituals witness to the reality of religion, the Pentateuchal legislation bears more forcible and convincing testimony. The passage runs as follows:—"The ritual regulations of India, Persia, Babylon, Egypt, speak for themselves. They are obviously human enough; minute, excessive, often puerile. Yet there is something behind them; they labour to formulate something other than themselves, a power, an order, an authority, of which man is vaguely, but really conscious, and which he craves to have translated into words that he can understand. We turn with impatience from the endless pages of the religious law-books of the world; but their very mass is an indication of the divine superintendence which they symbolise; an effort to express the sense of infinite obligation, by the accumulation of infinitesimal rules."[1]

[1] *Personality*, pp. 169 f.

CHAPTER III.

LATER HISTORICAL BOOKS
CHRONICLES TO ESTHER

1. Titles, Divisions, and Mutual Relations of Chron.–Ezra–Neh.
2. Date and Authorship of Chron.–Ezra–Neh.
3. Sources of Chron.
4. Contents of Chron.
5. Historical Character and Teaching of Chron.
6. Use of Chron. in N.T.
7. Sources of Ezra–Neh.
8. Hist. Accuracy of Ezra–Neh.
9. Contents of Ezra-Neh.
10. Esther.

1. **Titles, Divisions, and Mutual Relations of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah.**—Similarity of style and spirit, the identity of the end of Chronicles with the beginning of Ezra,[1] and the fact that Chronicles ends in the middle of a sentence,[2] show that Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah once formed a single work. Our English versions follow the Vulg. and LXX. in placing Chronicles after Kings, and before Ezra and Nehemiah—the natural order as Ezra–Nehemiah is the sequel to Chronicles. In the Masoretic lists and in the Spanish MSS., Chronicles stands at the beginning and Ezra–Nehemiah at the end of the Hagiographa; in the Talmud, most German MSS. and the early printed editions, Chronicles stands at the end of the Hagiographa, immediately *after* Ezra–Nehemiah.[3] Apparently, when the division was made, it was intended to place Ezra–Nehemiah in the Canon, and exclude

[1] ii. Chron. xxxvi. 22 f. = Ezra i. 1–3a.

[2] Verse 23bβ (Chron.) is the first half of the second sentence in verse 3 (Ezra).

[3] GINSBURG, *Introduction*, pp. 6 ff.; article "Chronicles," Dr. HASTINGS' *Bible Dictionary*.

Chronicles, as a superfluous and inferior variant of Kings. The ragged end, so to speak, left to Chronicles, points to the same conclusion. But after the Hagiographa were otherwise complete, Chronicles was added, sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end. After this addition Chronicles still formed one, and Ezra–Nehemiah another single book; the present division into i. and ii. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is due to the LXX., in some MSS. of which, however, Ezra and Nehemiah still make up one book, Esdras B.

The Hebrew title of Chronicles is *Dibhrê hay-Yamîm*, or "Annals"; whence E.V., *Chronicles*.[1] The LXX. is *Ta Paraleipomena*, usually explained as "the things passed over," *i.e.*, in *Samuel* and *Kings;* whence Vulg. *Paraleipomenon*. In Hebrew and E.V. the other two books are styled *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, originally Ezra–Nehemiah went by the name *Ezra;* when they were divided *Nehemiah* was a natural title for the second book. The Vulg. styles them i. and ii. Esdras; the LXX., either Esdras B[2] (as one book) or Esdras B and Nehemiah.

The iii. Esdras of the LXX. and Vulg., the i. Esdras of the English Apocrypha, is a variant edition of our Ezra; see chapter on the Apocrypha.

2. **Date and Authorship of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah.**— The author's name is unknown; his interest in the Levites and the Temple music suggests that he belonged to one of the Levitical choirs. The contents of the work show that it is considerably later than Ezra and Nehemiah, 458–432. Nehemiah xii. 10 f. mentions Jaddua, high priest in the time of Alexander the Great, *c.* 330. In i. Chronicles iii. 24, the genealogy of David extends, according to the Hebrew Text, to the sixth, according to the LXX., Syriac, and Vulg., to the eleventh generation after Zerubbabel, *i.e.*, to *c.* 350 or to *c.* 200. On the other hand, there is no trace either of the sufferings or triumphs of the Maccabean period, *c.* 170–140.

[1] To be carefully distinguished from the "Chronicles" cited in Kings.

[2] In LAGARDE'S *Lucianic Text* as Esdras A.

Hence the date is usually fixed as 300–250. The style and language are consistent with this date, and with the reference to the book in Ecclesiasticus[1] xlix. 13.

3. **Sources of Chronicles.**—Chronicles cites a number of authorities: (i.) "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," for Asa, II. xvi. 11, Amaziah, II. xxv. 26, Ahaz, II. xxviii. 26; (ii.) "The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," for Jotham, Josiah, and Jehoiakim; (iii.) "The Acts of the Kings of Israel," for Manasseh, II. xxxiii. 18; (iv.) "The Words of Samuel the Seer," for David, I. xxix. 29; (v.) "The Words of Nathan the Prophet," for David, I. xxix. 29, Solomon, II. ix. 29; (vi.) "The Words of Gad the Seer," for David, I. xxix. 29; (vii.) "The Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer," for Rehoboam, II. xii. 15; (viii.) "The Words of Jehu ben-Hanani," for Jehoshaphat, II. xx. 34: (ix.) "The Words of the Seers,"[2] for Manasseh, II. xxxiii. 19; (x.) "The Vision of Iddo the Seer," for Solomon, II. ix. 29; (xi.) "The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet," for Hezekiah, II. xxxii. 32; (xii.) "The Midrash of the Book of Kings,"[3] for Joash, II. xxiv. 27; (xiii.) "The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo," for Abijah, II. xiii. 22; (xiv.) "The Acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah the Prophet," for Uzziah, II. xxvi. 22; (xv.) "The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," for Solomon, II. ix. 29.

(i.), (ii.), (iii.), and perhaps (xii.) are variant titles of the same work; most or all of (iv.)–(xi.), (xiii.)–(xv.) are the titles of sections of this work, a section being cited by the name of the best known prophet of the period it describes. Thus "The Words of Jehu ben-Hanani" were "inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel," and "The Vision of Isaiah" is said to be in "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel."[4]

[1] *c.* B.C. 180.

[2] So LXX., A.V., R.V. Mg.; Hebrew and R.V. Text "Hozai"; KITTEL, Dr. HAUPT'S *Sacred Books of O.T.*, reads "Hozayw," *his seers*, with BUDDE.

[3] *i.e.*, an edition supplemented by edifying illustrative narratives.

[4] II. xx. 34, xxxii. 32.

As much of the material in Chronicles is identical with parts of Kings, this "Book of the Kings" may be our Kings. But Chronicles states that this "Book" contained certain information, which is not found in Kings. Hence it is commonly supposed that this "Book" was a Midrash or expansion of our Kings, and that perhaps the "Midrash" made use of the sources of our Kings. There seems no reason to suppose that Chronicles made use of any pre-exilic sources, with the possible exception of Kings, and some genealogical archives.

Chronicles has borrowed, more or less, directly or indirectly, from the Pentateuch, Joshua and Ruth; but chiefly from Samuel and Kings.[1] There are also excerpts from the Psalter.

4. Contents of Chronicles.[2]

FIRST CHRONICLES.

I.–IX. GENEALOGIES.

i.–ii. 17, Adam to David.

Compiled from Genesis, Numbers, Joshua, i. Kings, and Ruth, unless the genealogy in Ruth is from the source of ii. 5–12.

ii. 18–55, *Ch.*, Calebites, their Settlements.

Kittel refers 25–33, 42–45, 49 to a source older than the Midrash; *cf.* § 5 (b).

iii., The Davidic Dynasty from David to Anani; 17–24 = *Ch.*

Anani was apparently the head of the House of David in the time of the Chronicler. Verses 1–16 compiled from ii. Samuel and Kings.

iv. 1–23, *Ch.*, Other Judahite Clans, their Settlements.

Kittel refers 1–20 to an older source; *cf.* on ii. 18–55.

iv. 24–43, Simeonite Clans, Settlements, and Conquests, 25–27, 34–43 = *Ch.*

Verses 24, 28–33 compiled from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua xix.; most of the rest referred by Kittel to older source.

v., *Ch.*, Clans, Settlements, Conquests, and Captivity of Reuben, Gad and Eastern Manasseh.

vi. 1–15, *Ch.*, High-priestly dynasty from Aaron to the Captivity.

[1] *Cf.* Contents.

[2] Longer passages, peculiar to Chron. in substance as well as form, are denoted by *Ch.*; shorter fragments, in passages compiled from Genesis–Kings, are not indicated unless specially important.

Some of the names also occur in the earlier historical books. Kittel refers 5–15 to an older source.

vi. 16–48, *Ch.*, Genealogies of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, the traditional ancestors of the Levitical choirs.

vi. 49–53 = 4–8, *Ch.*, High-priestly dynasty from Aaron to Solomon.

vi. 54–81 = *Joshua xxi.* 5–39, Priestly and Levitical Cities.

vii., *Ch.*, Clans of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher.

Kittel refers 14–19, 21b–24 to older source.

viii., *Ch.*, Clans of Benjamin, Descendants of Saul.

Kittel considers viii., which is a variant of vii. 6–12, as a later addition. Such passages may, however, be additions made by the Chronicler himself to the material he obtained from his main source.

ix., *Ch.*, Chief families, Priests, Levites, Gate-keepers at Jerusalem after the Return, Saul's Descendants.

Verses 1 f. = Ezra ii. 70 = Nehemiah vii. 73a, xi. 3b; 3–17a = Nehemiah xi. 4–19a; 35–44, Saul's descendants, is repeated from viii. 29–38.

X.–XXIX., David.

x. f. = *i. Samuel xxxi.*, *ii. Samuel v.* 1–3, 6–10, *xxiii.* 8–39; *except x.* 13*f.*, *xi.* 10, 41*b*–47 = *Ch.*, Saul's Death, David's Accession and Capture of Jerusalem, His Heroes.

Kittel refers xi. 41b–47 to older source.

xii. = *Ch.*, Warriors who came to David at Ziklag and at Hebron.

xiii. f. = *ii. Samuel vi.* 1–11, *v.* 11–23; *except xiii.* 1–5,* *xiv.* 17 = *Ch.*, Unsuccessful attempt to bring the Ark to Jerusalem, Hiram, David's Sons, Victories over the Philistines.

xv. f., *Ch.*, The Ark brought to Zion.

Based on ii. Samuel vi. 12–20, fragments of which are reproduced in xv. 25–xvi. 3, 43. The psalm in xvi. is compiled from Psalms cv. 1–15, xcvi. 1–13,* cvi. 1, 47 f.

xvii.–xx. = *ii. Samuel vii. f.*, *x.*, *xi.* 1, *xii.* 26, 30*f.*, *xxi.* 18–22, Nathan's Prophecy, Wars with Ammonites, etc., David's Ministers, and Heroes.

xxi.–xxii. 1, Census, consequent Pestilence, stayed by sacrifice at Araunah's Threshing-floor.

A much altered edition of ii. Samuel xxiv. Satan, and not Jehovah, tempts David to number Israel; Levi and Benjamin are not numbered. Instead of buying the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of

silver, he buys "the place" (of the threshing-floor) for six hundred shekels of gold.

xxii. 2–xxix., *Ch.*, Instructions to Solomon as to the Building of the Temple, Organisation, etc. of the Levites, Priests, Singers, Gate-keepers, the Army, and the Tribes, Instructions to Solomon and Israel as to the Temple, Offerings of the people for the Temple, David's Thanksgiving, Solomon anointed King, David's Death.

Second Chronicles.

I.–IX., Solomon.

i. 1–13, Sacrifice, Dream and Choice at Gibeon.

Revised edition of i. Kings iii. 4–13, introducing the "Tent of Meeting."

i. 14–17 = *i. Kings x.* 26–29, Horses and Chariots.

Kings states that Solomon made *silver* to be as stones in Jerusalem, Chronicles expands this to *silver and gold.*

ii.–vii., Building and Dedication of the Temple.

A very much expanded version of i. Kings v.–ix.; chapters ii., iii., v. 11–13, vi. 12 f., 40–vii. 6, 11–15 are almost entirely the work of the Chronicler. He introduces the Levites and singers, and the courses of the priests, v. 11 f., and the keeping of the Feast (Tabernacles) on the eighth day, according to the Priestly Code.

viii. f. = *i. Kings ix.* 10 *f.*, 17–*xi.*; *except viii.* 12–16,* *and many small additions to ix.* = *Ch.*, Organisation of the Kingdom, Queen of Sheba.

In i. Kings ix. 10 f. Solomon gives cities to Hiram; in Ch. viii. 2, which corresponds to it in the arrangement of material, Hiram gives cities to Solomon.

X.–XXXVI., Division of the Two Kingdoms to the Restoration.

x. ff. = *i. Kings xii.* 1–24, *xiv.* 25–28, 21; *except xi.* 5–*xii.* 1, *xii.* 2*b*–8 = *Ch.*, Rehoboam.

The *Ch.* sections enumerate R's buildings, the migration of the Levites to Judah, R's family, and the warning of Shemaiah.

xiii. 1 f. = *i. Kings xv.* 1 *f.*, 7*b*, Abijah.

xiii. 3–22, *Ch.*, Abijah's Victory over Jeroboam.

Abijah is a bad king in Kings.

xiv. 1–xv. 15, *Ch.*, Asa—Suppression of the High Places, Defeat of Zerah the Ethiopian, Prophecy of Azariah ben Oded.

Portions of i. Kings xv. 8–12 are reproduced in xiv. 1–5. Zerah is sometimes identified with Osorkon II., King of Egypt, who claims to have made a successful campaign in Palestine, *c.* 866. Kittel refers xiv. 8 f.,* 11, 12a to older source. *Oded*, xv. 8, for *Azariah ben Oded* is due to a corruption of the text.

xv. 16–xvi. 6 = *i. Kings xv.* 13–22, Asa—Maachah deposed, High Places not suppressed, Alliance with Benhadad against Israel.

xvi. 7–14, *Ch.*, Asa—Prophecy and Imprisonment of Hanani, Disease and Death of Asa.

Fragments of i. Kings xv. 23 f. in xvi. 12 ff.

xvii., *Ch.*, Jehoshaphat—Itinerant Priests and Levites teach the Law, Peaceful Prosperity.

Kittel refers "sent" in 7, and 8b, 9 to older source.

xviii. = *i. Kings xxii.* 2–35*a*, Jehoshaphat and Ahab at Ramoth Gilead.

Verses 1 f., mainly *Ch.*

xix.–xx. 30, *Ch.*, Jehoshaphat—Prophecy of Jehu ben Hanani, Priests and Levites as Judges, Invading Ammonites, Moabites, etc. exterminate one another while the Levitical choirs sing praises.

xx. 31–37, Jehoshaphat—Summary, Alliance with Ahaziah, Loss of Navy.

Based on i. Kings xxii. 41 ff., 48 f.; the condemnation of the alliance with Israel, and the prophecy of Eliezer are *Ch.*

xxi. = *i. Kings xxii.* 50, *ii. Kings viii.* 17–22, 24*a*; *except* 2–4, 10*b*–20 = *Ch.*, Jehoram.

Ch. sections include Jehoram's Massacre of his Brethren, Elijah's writing to Jehoram, and the Misfortunes of Jehoram.

xxii. 1–9, Ahaziah.

Based on, and partly extracted from ii. Kings viii. 24–x.

xxii. 10–xxiii., Athaliah.

Revised edition of ii. Kings xi. 1–20, *e.g.*, the Levitical temple-guard of the Chronicler's times is substituted for the foreign mercenary bodyguard of the Davidic kings.

xxiv., Joash.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xi. 21–xii., *e.g.*, the Apostasy of Joash, and the Martyrdom of Zechariah are *Ch.*

xxv. = *ii. Kings xiv.* 2–14, 17, 19 *f.*, *except* 5–11*a*, 12–16 = *Ch.*, Amaziah.

Ch. sections include Dismissal of Israelite Mercenaries at the bidding of a Man of God, and Amaziah's Apostasy rebuked by a Prophet.

xxvi., *Ch.*; *except* 1–4 = *ii. Kings xiv.* 21 *f.*, *xv.* 2 *f.*, *and* 20–23 *include fragments of xv.* 5 *ff.*, Uzziah.

Ch. portions include the Mission of Zechariah, Uzziah's Victories, His Intrusion into the Temple. Kittel refers 6, 8a, 9 f. to older source.

xxvii. = *ii. Kings xv.* 33–34, 35*b*, 38; *except* 2*b*, 3*b*–7 = *Ch.*, Jotham.

Kittel refers 4 ff., Buildings and Wars to older source.

xxviii., Ahaz.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xvi. *Ch.* adds the Mission of Oded, Release of Judahite captives, Invasions by Edomites and Philistines, etc.

xxix.–xxxii., Hezekiah.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xviii.–xx. *Ch.* minimises the part played by Isaiah; and inserts profuse details as to Temple ritual, Levites and singers. Kittel refers xxxii. 30, as far as "David," to older source.

xxxiii. 1–20 = *ii. Kings xxi.* 1–10, 18; *except* 11–19 = *Ch.*, Manasseh.

Ch. section contains M.'s Captivity, Repentance, and Buildings.

xxxiii. 21–25, Amon.

Expanded from ii. Kings xxi. 19–24.

xxxiv. f., Josiah.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xxii.–xxiii. 30. *Ch.* adds, an express statement that Hilkiah found the law-book, xxxiv. 14, repeated identifications of the law-book with the Law of Moses, profuse details as to ritual, priests, Levites and singers, Josiah's neglect of the message sent to him from God through Pharaoh Necho, xxxv. 21 f.

xxxvi. 1–21, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah.

Compiled from ii. Kings xxiii. 30–xxv. 21. *Ch.* introduces a reference to Jeremiah, xxxvi. 12.

xxxvi. 22 f. = *Ezra i.* 1–3*a*, The Decree of Cyrus.

5. **Historical Character and Teaching of Chronicles.**—The Chronicler's selection and statement of history were intended to enforce, in the most emphatic way, the teaching he had most at heart.[1] He wished to give object lessons in the observance of the Law. The Law, he held, was not observed

[1] The Chronicler and the author of his main source, the Midrash on Kings, were of the same mind and temper, so that in speaking of the Chronicler, we include the author of the Midrash. But the dependence of Chron. on this source shifts the responsibility for narratives not found in Genesis–Kings from the author of the canonical book to his authority.

before David, or in that product of schism and treason, the Northern kingdom. Hence he confines his history to the Davidic monarchy, even at the expense of sacrificing the history of Elijah and Elisha. He describes David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah as worshipping with a full accompaniment of ritual, priests, Levites and choirs, and according to the laws of the complete Pentateuch; for he assumed that what was binding in his own day must have been observed by the good kings. The Chronicler was anxious to teach that virtue and vice invariably meet with their due; Kings had not always recorded the sins which involved a disastrous close to the reigns of good kings, or the misfortunes which punished the wickedness of bad kings. The Chronicler, as far as his source permitted, supplied these defects.[1]

As far as possible, nothing is told of the good kings which would weaken the force of their good examples. Thus the incidents of Uriah and Bathsheba, of Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom, are entirely omitted. The Chronicler also exalts his heroes by giving them large armies, great wealth and splendour[2]; and shows a fondness for statistics and genealogies.

Professor Sayce writes thus[3]: "The consistent exaggeration of numbers on the part of the Chronicler shows us that from a historical point of view his unsupported statements must be received with caution. But they do not justify the accusations of deliberate fraud and 'fiction' which have been brought against him. What they prove is that he did not possess that sense of historical exactitude which we now demand from the historian. He wrote, in fact, with a didactic and not with a historical purpose. That he should have used the framework of history to illustrate the lessons he wished to draw was as much an accident as that Sir Walter Scott should

[1] *Cf.* Contents on ii. Chron. xxiv. f., Joash and Amaziah, and xxxv. 21 f. on Josiah.

[2] *Cf.* Contents on II. i: 14–17, Solomon:

[3] *Higher Crit.*, 1894, p. 464.

have based certain of his novels on the facts of mediæval history. He cared as little for history in the modern European sense of the word as the Oriental of to-day, who considers himself at liberty to embellish or modify the narrative he is repeating in accordance with his fancy or the moral he wishes to draw from it."

In considering the value of Chronicles, we must deal separately with the different kinds of material.

(a) *Material taken from Genesis–Kings, etc.*—Chronicles preserves an alternative text, which sometimes gives the better reading.

(b) *Material from Older Sources.*—If Kittel is right in assigning certain passages[1] to a source older than the Midrash, we possess in Chronicles some fragments of information, *e.g.*, as to the Invasion of Zerah, not given in Genesis–Kings, but derived from early, perhaps pre-exilic sources.

(c) *Narratives not traceable earlier than the Midrash of Kings.*—Narratives which give no indication of early origin rest simply on the unsupported testimony of a document composed from 700 to 300 years later than the events described. For the teaching of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) see chapter ii., § 33.

(d) *Narratives of Earlier Events in Terms of the Institutions and Ideas of the Chronicler's Own Times.*—Here an example was set which is constantly imitated; teachers and preachers often seek to make a Biblical narrative more impressive by telling the story as if the event had happened in the nineteenth century. Probably Chronicles was very useful in this way to the Jews of the period. To us this material is valuable as revealing the institutions and ideas of the Chronicler's time; the comparison with Kings enables us to contrast the Jewish community with ancient Israel. Moreover the utterances ascribed by Chronicles to its characters often contain most useful and suggestive teaching; they were the expression of deep and real experience, and they still help to renew and express such experience.

[1] Not found in Gen.–Kings. *Cf.* Contents on I. iv., vi. f., II. xiv., xvii.

6. **Use of Chronicles in N.T.**—It is possible that some of the persons in Luke's genealogy, iii. 2b f., are identical with persons mentioned only in I. iii. 19–22. Matthew ix. 36 is more closely parallel to ii. Chronicles xviii. 16, peculiar to Chronicles, than to Numbers xxvii. 17 or Ezekiel xxxiv. 5; but it may have been suggested by either of the latter, or may be simply the current form of a popular figure. The "Zachariah, son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar" (Matthew xxiii. 35)[1] is identified with the Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, whose martyrdom in the Temple court is related in II. xxiv. 21, and nowhere else. Otherwise there is nothing in the N.T. to show that any of its writers were acquainted with Chronicles.

7. **Sources of Ezra–Nehemiah.**—Ezra vii. 27–ix. are in the first person, and are derived from memoirs composed by Ezra; other passages in Ezra-Nehemiah may be based on these memoirs.[2] Nehemiah i.–vii. 5 and xi.–xiii. (in part) are in the first person, and are derived from memoirs compiled by Nehemiah; other passages in Nehemiah may be based on these memoirs.[2] Both sets of memoirs may be dated *c.* 430. Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, which are in Western or Palestinian Aramaic, are taken from another source, which may be dated *c.* 450.[3] Ezra–Nehemiah also contains a series of official documents: the Decree of Cyrus, Ezra i. 1–4; Letters between Rehum and Artaxerxes, iv. 7–23; Letters between Tattenai and Darius, v. 6–vi. 12; Artaxerxes' Firman to Ezra, vii. 11–26. The authenticity of these documents is matter of controversy.[4] Ezra iv. 7–23 is out of place, and belongs to the building, not of the Temple, but of the walls. Probably, as in Chronicles, the Chronicler did not compile Ezra–Nehemiah from the original sources,

[1] Also Luke xi. 51, where the father's name is omitted. The first hand of Cod. Sin. omits it in Matt., and Jerome states that the Nazarene Gospel had "son of Jehoiada" in Matt. (Tisch.)

[2] *Cf.* Contents. [3] KAUTZSCH, CORNILL.

[4] They were rejected by KOSTERS, *Het Herstel*, etc., German Trans., but are accepted by Kautzsch, and with the exception of i. 1–4 by MEYER, *Entstehung*, etc.

but revised a compilation already made,[1] possibly a portion of the same work, parts of which are referred to as the "Book of Kings," etc., or the "Midrash of the Book of Kings," etc.

8. **Historical Accuracy of Ezra–Nehemiah.**—It has been maintained[2] that the Chronicler, or one of his authorities, has entirely misunderstood the course of the history on two main points.

(a) *The Return and Building of the Temple.*—There was, it is said, no Return in 538; there was no attempt to rebuild the Temple till the time of Haggai and Zechariah, 520; and the Temple was rebuilt by the Jewish community left behind in Palestine, when the bulk of the population were carried away captive in 586. The main argument for this view is that Haggai and Zechariah make no reference to any Return, or to any previous work towards the building of the Temple. The treatment of the history in Kings by the Chronicler or his source, weakens the authority of the statements in Ezra i.–vi. Yet the silence of Haggai and Zechariah does not seem conclusive disproof of statements made even as late as 250. There would still be, one would suppose, a substantially accurate tradition as to the origin of the Temple and the Jewish community.

Cheyne's *Introd. to Isaiah*, xxxviii. f., substantially adopts Kosters' view. G. A. Smith, in a careful discussion of the subject in *Book of the Twelve*, p. 204 ff., concludes that the Return took place in 537, and that the Jews who returned rebuilt the Temple, and probably made some beginning immediately after the Return. Meyer, *Entstehung*, combats Kosters' view at length, and it has also been rejected by Kuenen and Wellhausen (ap. Meyer). Many critics, however, who accept the Return, maintain that no attempt was made to rebuild the Temple before 520.

(b) *The Date of Ezra's Mission.*—It is also maintained[3] that Ezra's mission and reforms took place—not, as the Chronicler represents, in 458, before Nehemiah's first term of office, but—either in Nehemiah's second term of office,

[1] *Cf.* CORNILL[3], p. 135.
[2] KOSTERS, *Het Herstel*, etc., German Trans.
[3] KOSTERS, etc.

432; or even in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II., 398. The different sections of Nehemiah have to be re-arranged and Ezra vii.–x. is placed immediately before Nehemiah ix., x. These views have met with little acceptance.

9. Contents of Ezra–Nehemiah.

EZRA.

I.–VI. RETURN, REBUILDING OF TEMPLE.

i., *Ch.*, Decree of Cyrus, Return.

Ch. is used, as in Chronicles, for matter composed by the Chronicler, or by the author of his late post-exilic Midrashic source.

ii.–iii. 1 = *Nehemiah vii. 6–viii. 1a*, Statistics of those who returned under Cyrus, their gifts to the building of the Temple.

In Nehemiah vii. 5, Nehemiah states that he found this list in a book; possibly a contemporary record. *Ch.* has repeated it here from Nehemiah vii., and, in a most curious fashion, has utilised Nehemiah vii. 73b, viii. 1a, the opening verse of the account of the promulgation of the Law, as the opening verse, Ezra iii. 1, of the account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Temple. Kosters holds that this list does not refer to a Return under Cyrus, but is a census of the population in the time of Ezra-Nehemiah, and that the book in which it was found was Ezra's Memoirs. There are numerous variations, especially as to names and numbers, in the three texts of this list, Ezra ii.; i. or iii. Esdras v.; Nehemiah vii.

iii.–iv. 5, *Ch.*, Altar of Burnt Offering, Feast of Tabernacles, Foundation Stone, Opposition of Samaritans.

iv. 6 f., Complaints made against the Jews to Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

The text is probably corrupt; the verses were used by *Ch.* or his source as an introduction to the next section.

iv. 8–23, *Aramaic Source*, Letters between the Persian Governor and Artaxerxes.

Out of place here, belonging properly to the end of interval between the arrival of Ezra and that of Nehemiah.

iv. 24–vi. 18, *Aramaic Source*, Rebuilding and Dedication of the Temple, Letters between the Persian Governor and Darius.

iv. 24 is the continuation of iv. 5, and is probably *Ch.*

vi. 19–22, *Ch.*, Passover.

Darius is styled "King of *Assyria*."

VII.–X. Mission of Ezra.

vii. 1–11, *Ch.*, Introductory Abstract.

vii. 12–26, *Aramaic Source*, Firman of Artaxerxes to Ezra.

vii. 27–ix., *Ezra's Memoirs in the First Person*, Thanksgiving to God for Firman, Ezra's Companions, Journey, Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners.

x., *Ezra's Memoirs, edited by Ch.*, Conclusion of account of Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners.

Though ix. and x. are essentially one narrative, x. changes to the *third* person, probably because *Ch.* has recast this portion of Ezra's Memoirs.

Nehemiah.

i.–vii. 5, *Nehemiah's Memoirs in the First Person*, Nehemiah's Mission, Rebuilding of the Walls, in spite of the Opposition of the Samaritans and their allies, Measures for the Relief of Debtors.

vii. 6–viii. 1a = *Ezra ii.–iii.* 1, *q.v.*

vii. 73b–x., *Ezra's Memoirs recast by Ch.*, Promulgation of the Law, and Covenant to observe it.

The Law was probably the Priestly Code; *cf.* chapter i. §§ 19 f.

xi., Migration from the country to Jerusalem, Location of the Clans in Jerusalem and the country.

An official list, part of which is given in i. Chronicles ix. 1–17. It is freely edited by *Ch.* from a list, which probably belonged to Nehemiah's Memoirs, and followed vii. 5.

xii. 1–26, *Ch.*, Chiefs of the Priestly and Levitical Clans.

Note the reference to Jaddua, High Priest under Alexander, in 22, and to a "Book of Chronicles"[1] in 23.

xii. 27–43, *Nehemiah's Memoirs in the First Person, with additions by Ch.*, Dedication of the Walls.

xii. 44–xiii. 3, *Ch.*, Provision for Priests and Levites, Extrusion of Foreigners.

xiii. 4–31, *Nehemiah's Memoirs in the First Person*, Nehemiah's Return to Artaxerxes, and Second Term of Office, Expulsion of Tobiah the Ammonite from the Temple, Provision for Levites and Singers, Safeguarding the Sabbath,

[1] *Sēpher Dibhrê hay-Yāmîm.*

Renewed Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners, Expulsion of a grandson of the High Priest, who was son-in-law of Sanballat.[1]

10. **Esther.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The local colouring suggests that the author lived in Persia, nothing else is known of him. The absence of any reference to the book in Ecclesiasticus points to a date not much earlier than B.C. 200, and this conclusion is confirmed by the language; its linguistic affinities are with Daniel, Chronicles and post-Biblical Hebrew, and there are Aramaisms.

Esther is ascribed to the earlier Greek period by Adeney, *Exp. Bible*, p. 353, Cheyne, *Encycl. Brit.*, Driver, etc.; to a later date by Cornill, *c.* B.C. 130, Kautzsch, *c.* B.C. 150, Wildeboer, after B.C. 135, and Siegfried.

(b) *Canonicity.*—The canonicity of Esther was contested amongst the Jews, even apparently after the Synod of Jamnia, *c.* A.D. 90, for the book is absent from the list of books of the Jewish O.T. obtained by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, A.D. 150–175.[2] The exaggerated enthusiasm of later Rabbis, *e.g.*, Maimonides,[3] for the book suggests an uneasy consciousness of its lack of full authority. The Church, like the Rabbis, hesitated over Esther; even as late as the fourth century, Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen do not include the book in the Canon. Its position was doubtful in the East throughout the Middle Ages;[4] but in the West its acceptance by the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, assured its position till the Reformation. Luther, however, spoke of the book as "judaising" and "containing many heathenish improprieties," and said he wished it did not exist.

(c) *The Greek Esther.*—In the LXX. there are numerous late interpolations, designed to remedy supposed defects in religious and other matters, *e.g.*, in these additions "God"

[1] For teaching see chapter ii. § 33. There is no trace of Ezra-Nehemiah in N.T.

[2] Eus. *Hist.* iv. 26.

[3] The Law and Esther will survive all the rest of the O.T.

[4] Rejected by Nicephorus Callistus, A.D. 1323. Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, 227.

and "Lord" occur frequently, and Mordecai offers a long prayer.

(d) *Contents and Historicity.*—In spite of the general accuracy in details, etc. of local colouring, the book is commonly regarded as a kind of parable or allegory, with a certain basis of fact, rather than as exact history.[1] Difficulties have been found in the way in which the fact of Esther and Mordecai being Jews is in one place represented as known, and in another supposed to be concealed, and in the extraordinary character of the edicts for the extermination first of the Jews and then of their enemies, and in many other features of the story. These difficulties do not seem to furnish a formal proof that the narrative is not historical in its main outlines. On the other hand, the probable composition of the book in the Greek period, and the absence of any corroborating references to the events narrated, make its substantial historicity uncertain.

For instance, Mordecai and Esther are not mentioned in Ecclus. xliv.–xlix.

It is doubtful whether the Feast of Purim originated as our book states. No Persian word *Purim* is known in the sense of lots; but there was a Persian feast *Farwardigan*, and the *Phrouraia* or *Phrourdaia* of some MSS. of the LXX.[2] has been thought to identify Purim with this feast. Moreover, Mordecai and Esther are the names of the well-known Babylonian gods Marduk, or Merodach, and Ishtar. Accordingly it has been suggested[3] that the original basis of the book is a Babylonian myth, which had been connected with the Persian feast, which was originally Babylonian. This view might explain the entire absence of any Jewish divine name—God is never mentioned—and the hesitation of the Jews as to the canonicity of Esther. But so startling a theory will hardly be accepted till there is further evidence for it.[4]

[1] DRIVER, KÖNIG, WILDEBOER, etc.

[2] The Sinaitic has *Phrouraia.*

[3] JENSEN, ap. Wildeboer.

[4] There are no quotations from Esther in N.T.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POETICAL BOOKS

1. Job. 2. Psalms. 3. Proverbs. 4. Ecclesiastes. 5. Song of Songs.

1. Job. *Cf.* Appendix C on Wisdom.

(a) *The Historical Basis.*—The view that the book, as a whole, was a historical record of things said and done, was widely held amongst Jews and Christians up till and even after the Reformation. Yet it was denied by a rabbi, whose opinion—that Job never existed, and was merely a parable—is preserved in the Talmud, by Maimonides, and by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *c.* A.D. 440, who held that Job existed, but that the Book of Job was a fiction, and a wicked slander on the character of the Patriarch. Luther recognised a historical basis, but denied that the book was exact history. The existence of Job is supported by the references in Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20,[1] and by the improbability that both the hero and his story were pure inventions. But the whole character of the book shows that the traditional material has been freely used as the setting of a didactic colloquy, which is partly paralleled by Plato's Dialogues. The modern view is well expressed by Keil,[2] when he says that the book is "old legend wrought up and sustained throughout with poetic freedom."

The suggestion that the Prologue and Epilogue are taken from an old prose history of Job has met with some support.[3] The apparent inconsistency between these sections and the

[1] The only references outside of the Book of Job. There is nothing to connect our Job with the Job of Gen. xlvi. 13; where, moreover, Jashub should be read with LXX. and Num. xxvi. 24, BALL, *S.B.O.T.*

[2] *O.T. Introd.*, English Trans., i. 485. [3] DUHM.

rest of the book would be partly explained, if we supposed that the author felt bound to conform to established tradition, especially with regard to the happy ending. Otherwise we have no data for determining the form in which the story was known to Ezekiel or the author of the Book of Job.

The names of persons and places, as far as they occur elsewhere, belong to Edom or the neighbouring desert.[1] Probably, according to the ancient tradition, Job was a wealthy and pious Edomite, who was grievously afflicted, and afterwards restored to prosperity.

An apocryphal appendix to the LXX. identifies Job with Jobab ben-Zerah, king of Edom,[2] a conjecture suggested by the similarity of the names; states that the book was translated, whether into Greek or Hebrew is not clear, from the Syriac, and that Uz was on the borders of Edom and Arabia. It makes Zophar king of the Minæi, an Arabian tribe.

(b) *Date and Authorship.*—The author's name is quite unknown; all existing evidence is opposed to the suggestion that either Job or Moses wrote the book.

The date has to be determined by internal evidence, which has been variously interpreted.

(i.) The Exile is very widely accepted as the period when the book, or its original edition, was composed,[3] a view supported by many important considerations.

(1) The formal discussion of the consequences of the doctrine of the divine righteousness as applied to the dealings of God with the individual, does not appear to have begun much before the Exile. An early stage of the dis-

[1] *Uz*, Lam. iv. 21; *Eliphaz* and *Teman*, Gen. xxxvi. 11, 42 P, Jer. xlix. 7, etc.; *Shuhite* may connect with *Shuah*, one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, sent away by him eastward, Gen. xxv. 2, 6, JE. Naamah can scarcely be the town in the south of Judah, Josh. xv. 41. The mention of Naamah as the wife of a Cainite Lamech, suggests the existence of a Kenite clan of that name; the meaning of the word—pleasant—makes it probable that it was commonly in use both for persons and places.

[2] Gen. xxxvi. 33, P.

[3] CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., 67, 73 f., DAVIDSON, DRIVER, KÖNIG, and DILLMANN, immediately before the Exile; but in *Introduction to Isaiah*, 111, CHEYNE writes, *re* Job xiv. 11, "the speeches in Job are very much more probably post-Exilic."

cussion is found in Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, who deal briefly with the difficulty of the prosperity of the wicked,[1] while the latter discusses at length the question of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children.[2] On the other hand, the author of Job seems entirely ignorant of the explanation of the sufferings of the righteous by the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement given in Isaiah liii. and other Servant-passages. Hence, the Book of Job will be later than Ezekiel, but not later than Isaiah liii.; *i.e.*, unless Isaiah liii. is post-exilic, the Book of Job is exilic.

(2) There are numerous parallels with Jeremiah, Lamentations, Isaiah xl. ff., and contemporary literature; but there is the usual difficulty in determining whether the parallels indicate literary dependence, or merely authorship in the same period and under similar circumstances; and, if there is dependence, which parallel is dependent on the other.[3] Also the date of the parallel is often uncertain. The parallels between Job and the Servant of Jehovah are also striking; both are lepers, innocent sufferers, who are restored and rewarded. Job xxviii. on Wisdom, *q.v.*, seems earlier than Proverbs 1–ix.

(3) The references to ruin and captivity seem reminiscences of a recent calamity,[4] possibly the Captivity of Israel, more probably that of Judah.

(4) Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20 show that the story of Job was in men's minds about the time of the Exile, but do not suggest that Ezekiel knew our book. But the intercession ascribed to Job in the Epilogue may have been suggested by these verses.

(5) The Aramaisms and Arabisms of the book are perhaps best explained by an exilic date.[5]

[1] Hab. i. 13, Jer. xii. 1.

[2] Jer. xxxi. 29, Ezek. xviii.

[3] *Cf.* iii., Jer. xx. 14 ff., *cf.* note on latter; vi. 15, Jer. xv. 18; xix. 7, 8; Lam. iii. 6–9; ix. 8, Isa. xliv. 24; xiii. 28, Isa. l. 9; xv. 35, Isa. lix. 4; xxvi. 12 f., Isa. li. 9; xxx. 21, Isa. lxiii. 10.

[4] iii. 18–20, vii. 1, ix. 24, xii. 6, 17, xxiv. 12.

[5] CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., 99, 293 f.

(ii.) A post-exilic origin has also met with much acceptance,[1] and is supported by the following considerations:—

(1) If Job in any way stands for Israel, the assertions of innocence point to a date after 400.

(2) The parallels with Isaiah liii., etc., if the Servant-passages are post-exilic.

(3) The use of Psalm viii. 5 in vii. 17 f., if Psalm viii. is post-exilic, as Cheyne.[2]

(4) Job xv. 7 f. is said to be clearly dependent on Proverbs viii. 22 ff., especially 25.[3]

(5) Elsewhere Satan only occurs in post-exilic literature.[4]

Other views are far less probable.

(iii.) The ascription to Job or Moses, or Mosaic or pre-Mosaic times is due to a confusion between the period of the patriarch Job and of the author of the book. The scene being laid in Edom in patriarchal times, express allusions to the law and literature of Israel are avoided, and God is usually spoken of as Elohim; but, as we have seen, the book constantly betrays acquaintance with the ideas and circumstances of the later monarchy, and most probably of the Exile.[5]

(iv.) The age of Solomon has commended itself to many scholars[6] on account of the parallels to Davidic Psalms, and to Proverbs i.–ix., etc., supposed by them to be Solomonic, and the alleged dependence of Amos, Isaiah, and other pre-exilic literature on Job.[7] But the Psalms and the sections in Proverbs which have most in common with Job are probably

[1] CHEYNE, *cf.* above, CORNILL, *c.* B.C. 250, DUHM, KAUTZSCH, *c.* B.C. 332?, KAYSER-MARTI, p. 191, between Zechariah and Chronicles, SMEND.

[2] *Psalter*, 201, BAETHGEN, about the time of the Exile.

[3] So CORNILL, who regards Prov. i.–ix., *q.v.*, as late post-exilic.

[4] Zech. iii. 1 f., Ps. cix. 6, i. Chron. xxi. 1.

[5] For the value of the Talmudic statement that Moses wrote the "section about . . . Job" see p. 8.

[6] LUTHER, DELITZSCH, etc., ap. Cornill.

[7] *Cf.* ix. 8 f., Am. iv. 13, v. 8; xii. 15, Am. ix. 6; xviii. 16, Am. ii. 9; xxx. 31, Am. viii. 10; xiv. 11, Isa. xix. 5.

post-exilic, and, in the case of the other parallels, the dependence, if any, is as, or more likely to be on the side of Job.

(v.) A date about the time of Isaiah is suggested by the view that the Captivity which forms the background of the book is that of Samaria.[1] While this view is not impossible, it seems disproved by the arguments for an exilic or post-exilic date.

(c) *Integrity.*—The main difficulties arise from an apparent inconsistency between the different parts of the book.[2]

The Prologue supplies an explanation of Job's sufferings—that they are to test his righteousness—which does not seem to harmonise with the poems.[3] On the whole, however, the poems presuppose the Prologue.[4]

The Epilogue seems to spoil the whole book by rehabilitating the very doctrine which the book was written to disprove. Job, restored to health and prosperity, and living to a good old age, would have been a triumphant example of the doctrine that, sooner or later, the righteous were rewarded in this life. Possibly, however, the author felt it necessary to assert the final bliss of the righteous, even at the cost of apparent inconsistency.[5]

The Elihu speeches, though still defended by some distinguished critics,[6] are generally regarded as a later addition,[7] intended to correct what was regarded as the undue emphasis on certain aspects of truth. Elihu is never mentioned elsewhere; no notice is taken of his argument by Job or by Jehovah; his speeches interrupt the connection between

[1] Noldeke, Merx, Hitzig, Reuss, Ewald, under Manasseh, ap. Cornill.

[2] On shorter doubtful passages see Contents *passim*.

[3] *Cf.* Teaching, ii.

[4] The Prologue is regarded as later addition by König, possibly from a prose work on Job; but is accepted by most critics. Cheyne is doubtful, p. 66 f.

[5] Cheyne, p. 69, Epilogue by an editor, based somewhat carelessly on the Prologue. Duhm derives both from an ancient popular work.

[6] Budde, Cornill.

[7] Baethgen, Cheyne, Driver "all but certain," Dillmann, Duhm, König, Siegfried, Strack, etc.

Job's appeal to the Almighty, xxxi. 35, and Jehovah's answer, xxxviii. 1; although his contribution is not mere repetition, it adds hardly anything to the argument against Job. Dr. A. B. Davidson writes:[1] "The difference" between the views of Elihu and those of the three friends "does not amount to much, and is apt to be exaggerated." "So far as Elihu's relation to the three friends is concerned, it is not easy to find any great difference between his conception and theirs, or almost any difference whatever in principle." The style of the Elihu speeches differs in many ways from, and has seemed to many scholars[2] very inferior to, that of the rest of the book. The two last objections might be met by supposing that this section was added by the author in his later years.[3]

The speeches of Jehovah have been doubted as a whole,[4] but unless the original book is cut down to the speeches of Job and his friends, the utterances of Jehovah seem necessary to the plan of the work. The descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, xl. 15–xli., are more often regarded as additions; the style seems inferior to that of xxxviii. f.[5]

Duhm, in the *Kurzer Handkommentar*, ascribes the Prologue and Epilogue to the close of the Monarchy; the discussion between Job and his friends and the speeches of Jehovah to *c.* 500-450; the Elihu speeches by a much later writer. There are also many other additions.

(d) *Text.*—The obscurities and other difficulties of the Hebrew text, and the fact that the LXX. text is very different and much shorter, indicate that many glosses and corruptions have crept in. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the original readings by the use of the versions, and by the application of theories as to metre, but none have met with much acceptance.[6]

[1] Pages xliv., xlii. [2] CHEYNE, RENAN, ap. Cheyne.
[3] KAMPHAUSEN and MERX, ap. Cornill.
[4] CHEYNE, p. 69.
[5] KÖNIG, SIEGFRIED; DRIVER is inclined to reject xl. 15–24.
[6] The most important are BICKELL, *Carmina V.T.*, tr. in DILLON'S *Sceptics of O.T.*; BUDDE, *Hiob*; MERX, *Das Gedicht von Hiob.*; SIEGFRIED, *S.B.O.T.*

(e) *Contents.*—I.–II., Prologue.

Satan is permitted by God to test Job's righteousness by depriving him of his wealth and of his children, and by afflicting him with a loathsome disease. Job remains faithful. His three friends come to comfort him.[1]

III.–XXXI., Job and his Friends Discuss the Problem of the Relation of Suffering and Sin.

iii. *Job.*—He curses the day of his birth and longs for death.[2]

iv., v. *Eliphaz.*—Job's complaint seems to reproach God; but, in any issue between God and man, man must be in the wrong. Job, being human, must have sinned. His calamities are chastisements, sent for his good. If he submits and repents he will be restored to great prosperity, and die in a good old age.

vi., vii. *Job.*—Renewed complaint and prayer for death. Job is innocent, his friends have interpreted him harshly and unfairly. If he has sinned, let God remove his sin and pardon him.

Siegfried regards vii. 1–10, the brevity and weariness of life, as editorial.

viii. *Bildad.*—God deals with men according to their deserts; such is the tradition of the fathers. Job's sons must have perished for their sins, and if Job were righteous, God would restore him to prosperity.

ix., x. *Job.*—Still lamenting and longing for death, Job disclaims any controversy with God, he is too helpless in spite of his innocence. But, as a fact, God does not deal with men according to their deserts; good and bad alike suffer, or God "shines on the counsel of the wicked." Job appeals to Him to explain the mystery.

xi. *Zophar.*—Would that God would make Job see his sins, as God sees them. Job is really suffering less than he deserves. Prosperity will follow repentance.

xii.–xiv. *Job.*—He claims to be as wise as his friends, their traditional doctrines are either commonplaces or "maxims of ashes." The wicked prosper, the righteous suffer. Let God

[1] *Cf.* p. 127. [2] *Cf.* Jer. xx. 14–18.

meet him as an equal, and convince him of sin. If there were any prospect of vindication and renewed happiness, he would wait patiently for it, even in Sheol, if compensation in a future life were possible.[1]

Siegfried treats xii. 4-xiii. 1, God's power in Nature and Providence, as editorial; xiii. 2 connects closely with xii. 3; xii. 9–12, which seem to confirm Zophar's estimate of traditional wisdom, are also omitted by Cornill.

Siegfried also regards xiv. 1 f., xiii. 28, xiv. 5, 7–12, 14, 18-22 (a didactic poem on the brevity and misery of life, and the certainty of death, parallel to vii. 1–10), as a later addition.

xv. *Eliphaz.*—Job's arguments are blasphemous quibbles, most discourteous to older and wiser men. All are guilty before God. By a detailed picture E. shows that the wicked do not prosper, but suffer calamity, and perish miserably.

xvi., xvii. *Job.*—Condemned by God and man, Job protests that he is an innocent man delivered up to the wicked. He must die, but he has a witness in heaven. God knows his innocence. His sufferings are a marvel to the righteous, who yet persevere, like Job himself. His only hope is in death—a barren hope.

xviii. *Bildad.*—Calamity dogs the steps of the sinner; his name and family are cut off (like Job).

xix. *Job.*—Overwhelmed by God's wrath, forsaken and despised by God and man, Job appeals to his friends for pity. Yet he is confident that, even after death, his Vindicator[2] (God) will establish his innocence, and he will see God, *i.e.*, be restored to happy fellowship with Him, 25–27.

For a discussion of the very obscure passage, 25–27, see Davidson's *Job*, C.B.S. 291 ff. The Hebrew Text, as it stands, has, by the application of somewhat unfair pressure, been interpreted to mean that Job expects to be vindicated by God and restored to His favour before death. *Cf.* the alternative renderings: "I shall see God—in my flesh," A.V., "from my flesh," R.V., "without my flesh," R.V. Mg. Siegfried obtains from LXX., etc. a reconstruction of the text, which makes the reference to a resurrection definite and certain, but he regards the passage as a later addition. Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, 442, regards the text of the passage as corrupt.

xx. *Zophar.*—If the sinner prospers, it is only for a time; he is quickly overtaken by misery and shame (like Job).

[1] xiv. 13–15. R.V. [2] *Gō'ēl.*

xxi. *Job.*—Not so; is it indeed the rule that calamity and sudden death overtake the sinner, 16–18? Far from it; the wicked live prosperously to a good old age; they see the prosperity of their children; they are honourably buried; and men honour them both in life and after death. If their children suffer, what is that to them?

A.V. takes 16–18 as a statement; "it *is* the rule." But this contradicts the argument of the context. Siegfried also takes it as a statement, and regards it as an interpolation.

xxii. *Eliphaz.*—God cannot afflict for selfish ends of His own, but only in the interests of justice. Sin must be the reason of Job's sufferings, doubtless the cruelty and oppression, for which Job's wealth and power would give him opportunity. Let him repent, amend, and prosper.

Hitherto Job's guilt has only been implied, now he is expressly charged with specified crimes.

xxiii., xxiv. *Job.*—He longs for access to God, that he may prove his innocence, and learn the reason of God's dealings, and why, in spite of his innocence, he is afflicted as by a blind Fate. In the world, might and fraud reign, the poor are oppressed by the rich, the workers by their employers. Crime is rampant, and the wrongdoer goes unpunished till he dies, like other men.

xxiv. 18–21, the doom of the wicked, are supposed to be a statement, by Job, of the views he is refuting. Siegfried regards 13–21 as an addition.

xxv. *Bildad.*—What is sinful man before God?

xxvi.–xxxi. *Job.* xxvi. 1–xxvii. 6.—Job acknowledges the infinite power of God, and again protests his innocence.

xxvii. 7–23.—*The inevitable doom of the wicked and his family.*

As this passage expressly contradicts Job's main position, it is probably not part of his speech. Its teaching is that of Job's friends, and it may be altogether or in part either a misplaced speech of Zophar,[1] who has no speech in the third set, or a later addition.[2]

[1] CHEYNE, *Job and Solomon*, 38, 114.

[2] KÖNIG, SIEGFRIED, SMEND, STRACK, etc. Budde and Cornill defend the originality of the ascription to Job, and explain thus: As the friends know so well the fate of the sinner, let them take warning, for they are behaving wickedly.

xxviii.—A didactic poem in praise of Wisdom.

The earliest or, at any rate, the most primitive of the great O.T. passages on Wisdom. As yet, Wisdom is not personified. It is commonly explained as a further illustration by Job of the mystery of God's ways, but its calm, didactic tone is out of place at the crisis of his agony, and it is probably a later addition,[1] perhaps an independent poem inserted here to secure its preservation.[2]

xxix.–xxxi. *Job.*—He meets the definite accusations of Eliphaz in xxii. by a detailed statement of the innocence and benevolence of his prosperous life, which he contrasts with his present misery.

XXXII.–XXXVII., The Elihu Speeches.

Job's friends having been silenced, Elihu, a younger man, comes forward to set both parties right, to refute Job by arguing the friends' case more efficiently than they have done themselves; or, as we might say, modern thought comes to the rescue of traditional wisdom. His contribution, however, is substantially a repetition of the friends' speeches. He asserts that suffering is due to sin, and that Job is presumptuous in questioning God's doings. The special features of his speeches are (i.) his reply to Job's complaint that God does not answer him; God speaks to men in dreams and by angels,[3] or prayer (as in Job's case) is left unanswered, because of the pride of man[4]; (ii.) the stress laid on the disciplinary value of suffering.[5] The concluding picture of the majesty of God, partly anticipates the speeches of Jehovah.[6]

XXXVIII. 1–XLII. 6, The Speeches of Jehovah and Job's Submission.

Jehovah shows that Job had spoken presumptuously, by describing His wonderful works in Nature, especially the horse, the hippopotamus (*behemoth*), and the crocodile (*leviathan*). Job acknowledges his presumption.[7]

[1] Duhm, Siegfried, Smend, *A. T. Theol.*, 508.

[2] Similarly Cheyne, *Job*, etc., 94. But Budde and Cornill defend the passage. The author of Job may have written xxviii. independently, and have sacrificed dramatic effect to his desire to use the poem as an illustrative parallel; but it can hardly have been written as an integral part of the book. [3] xxxiii. 14–23. [4] xxxv. 12.

[5] xxxiii. 14 ff., xxxvi. 7 ff., *cf.* v. 17 ff. [6] *Cf.* p. 127. [7] *Cf.* p. 128.

XLII. 7–17, EPILOGUE.

Jehovah declares that the friends "have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath," but they may be forgiven, if Job prays for them. Job is restored to health, and to greater prosperity than that which he formerly enjoyed.[1]

(f) *Teaching.*—The main subject of the book is the relation of suffering and sin. According to popular Jewish theology, all suffering was punishment; a righteous moral government of the world was fully manifested in the present life; happiness and prosperity, loss and suffering were meted out in exact proportion to men's virtues and vices. This doctrine is denied (i.) by the picture of an exceptionally good man, beggared and bereaved, tortured by loathsome disease; (ii.) by Job's description of the prevalence in the world of unmerited suffering and unpunished sin, by the friends' failure to prove him mistaken, and by the explicit statement of God that Job is right and the friends wrong.

This denial of the popular doctrine leaves us face to face with the problem of the compatibility of evil and suffering with the Divine Righteousness. It is not clear what solution, if any, the author proposes.

(i.) The Speeches of Jehovah suggest that we are to regard the problem as an insoluble mystery. If we cannot understand God in Nature, we must be still more incapable of fathoming the mysteries of His moral government of His creatures. Job's speeches, however, lead us to expect something more practically useful.

(ii.) The Prologue explains Job's sufferings as a test of his righteousness. Assuming that the Prologue is by the author of the poem, it is difficult to believe that this is put forward as an adequate explanation of the unmerited suffering of the world. The author might perhaps intend to illustrate one way in which a good man's sufferings might be explained without supposing him guilty of secret sin.

(iii.) Job expresses a desperate hope[2] that his innocence

[1] *Cf.* p. 127. [2] xiv. 13 ff., xvii. 13 ff., xix. 25 ff., *cf.* Contents.

may be vindicated and he restored to happy fellowship with God in a future life. The author may have intended to suggest that the solution might possibly be looked for in that direction, but compensation in a future life is only a possible hope, not a certain conclusion.

(iv.) Job's piety and fortitude in his affliction—he denies that God's righteousness is manifested, but always believes Him righteous—are doubtless intended for an example.[1]

(v.) The literary power of the book suggests that the author has not merely worked out a didactic theme, but has rather depicted the tragic consequences of the popular doctrine of retribution, using the deeper mysteries of evil, of Nature, and Providence, to illustrate his main subject. The author's premeditated intention to teach may not go beyond the denial of exact retribution in this life.

Hebrew theology was primarily concerned with the nation; doubtless the Book of Job shows us the difficulties in which this theology was involved when it turned from the nation to the individual. But, without regarding Job as a mere personification of Israel, we may suppose that the sufferings of the restored Jews, in the days of their devoted adherence to the Law, raised difficulties as to the old doctrine of retribution, even as applied to the nation. The author probably has the nation in mind, as well as the fate of the individual.

(g) *Use in N.T.*—It is remarkable how little use is made of this book in N.T. "The patience of Job" is mentioned in James v. 11, and there are a few parallels, which might be coincidences.[2] Apart from these, the only quotation is v. 13 in i. Corinthians iii. 19, "For it is written, He that taketh the wise in their craftiness." But for this last it would be possible to argue that the N.T. writers were not acquainted with the Book of Job.

2. **Psalms.**

(a) *The Arrangement of the Psalter.*—The following table shows the arrangement of the Psalter in the Hebrew Text and

[1] DAVIDSON, xxvi.

[2] Phil. i. 19a, however, is identical with Job xiii. 16a, LXX.

in the Septuagint. In both it is arranged in five books, each concluding with a doxology. The difference of numbering in the two texts is due to the fact that in four instances a single psalm in one text forms two in the other, thus :—

Hebrew,	ix. + x.	= LXX.,	ix.
,,	cxiv. + cxv.	= ,,	cxiii.
,,	cxvi.	= ,,	cxiv. + cxv.
,,	cxlvii.	= ,,	cxlvi. + cxlvii.

The LXX. contains an additional psalm, purporting to be written by David, in the first person, to celebrate his victory over Goliath.

In the table the numbers showing the frequency of occurrence of the Divine Names are taken from Lowe and Jennings on the Psalms I. xxvii.; they exclude cases where Elohim occurs in phrases which do not admit of the use of Jehovah, *e.g.*, "thy God."

The names, etc. to the left hand are the names of persons, apparently authors, mentioned in the titles. The figures in italics refer to the LXX., and the names in italics are names occurring only in the LXX., either in that particular book or part of a book, or in the Psalter as a whole. Where the number of a psalm occurs against two different names, the title, mostly in LXX., gives both names.

BOOK I. 1–41, *1–40.*

Jehovistic, Jehovah 272, Elohim 15.

Anonymous	1, 2		10	33	
	1, 2				
David		3–8, 9	11–32		34–41
		3–8, 9	*10–31*	*32*	*33–40*

BOOK II. 42–72, *41–71.*

Elohistic, Jehovah 30, Elohim 164.

Anonymous	43		66, 67		71
			65		
David			51–65	68–70	
	42		*50–64*	*66, 67–69*	*70*

BOOK II.—*continued.*

Sons of Korah	42		44–49						
	41		*43–48*						
Asaph				50					
				49					
Solomon									**72**
									71
Sons of Jonadab and of the first captives									*70*

The concluding doxology is followed by a subscription: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended."

BOOK III. 73–89, *72–88.*

Psalms 73–83 are Elohistic, 84–89 Jehovistic.

David						86			
						85			
Sons of Korah				84, 85			87, 88		
				83, 84			*86, 87*		
Asaph		73–83							
		72–82							
Ethan									89
									88
Jeduthun		77							
		76							
Heman							*87*		

BOOK IV. 90–106, *89–105.* Jehovistic.

Anonymous		91, 92,	93–99,	100		102		104, 105, 106	
		91		*99*		*101*			*104, 105*
David					101		103		
	90		*92–98*		*100*		*102, 103*		
Moses	90								
	89								

BOOK V. 107-150, *106–151.*

Jehovistic, except that cviii. = lvii. 7–11 + lx. 5–12 is Elohistic, and Elohim is used absolutely in cxliv. 9.

Anonymous	107		111–121		123		125, 126		
	106		*110–120, 121, 122*				*124, 125, 126*		
David	108–110			122		124			
	107–109					*123*			
Solomon									127

BOOK V.—*continued.*

Anonymous	128–130		132	134–136, 137	
	127–129		*131*	*133–135*	
David		131	133		138–145
		130	*132*		*136, 137–144*
Anonymous	146	147		148, 149, 150	
David					*151*
Haggai and Zechariah	*145*	*146, 147, 148*		*149, 150*	

Psalms 120–134 have the title "Song of Ascents," and Psalms 135, 146–150 begin and end with "Praise ye the LORD," "Hallelujah."

(b) *The Growth of the Psalter.*—The table in § 1 contains the chief data for determining the history of the Psalter. Our Psalter is the final edition of the canonical Temple hymn-book; other collections of hymns may have been used at the Temple later on, but they were not combined with the Psalter. Such a national collection of sacred song must have connected with individual psalms through a series of earlier and shorter collections. The compiler of a hymn-book may either rearrange earlier collections according to some principle, authorship, subject, metre, etc., or he may simply combine previous collections; or he may partly follow one method, and partly the other. In most modern hymn-books the hymns are arranged according to subjects, and afford no evidence of the history of previous collections from which the hymns are derived. But sometimes a supplement is added without altering the arrangement of the earlier collection, *e.g.*, two or three such supplements have been added to Sankey's Hymn-book, and the arrangement of the latest edition reveals the history of the gradual growth of the book to its present form.

Similarly the present arrangement of the contents of the Psalter shows that the Psalter is the result of a process of aggregation, by which earlier collections were combined and supplemented, without any extensive rearrangement of their contents.

The Psalter is not arranged according to authorship as indicated in the titles, for the Davidic psalms are distributed through the five books; nor according to subject matter, for psalms on similar topics are often found far apart, separated by others which deal with very different topics. An attempt has sometimes been made to show that the present arrangement is, in a fashion, based upon subject matter; but its advocates often rely on mechanical similarity of diction, *e.g.*, xxxiv. and xxxv. have been supposed to be placed together because they are the only psalms which mention the Angel of the Lord. It is much more likely that these psalms were found side by side in an earlier collection, and the similarity is due to their composition by the same author or during the same period.

We may therefore examine the present arrangement of the Psalter to see what evidence it affords of its growth from earlier collections.

The fact that the Jehovistic psalms are not all in one collection, nor all the Elohistic all in another, shows that the present grouping has not been arranged by a final editor according to the Divine Names, but has been taken over by him from earlier collections. Hence we may conclude that Book I., Book II., lxxiii.–lxxxiii., lxxxiv.–lxxxix., Book IV. + Book V. are earlier collections.[1]

Hence, again, the books are not wholly, at any rate, divisions made by the final editor, but correspond to earlier collections.

The Elohistic character of Book II. and of lxxiii.–lxxxiii. is due to an editor; the Jehovistic psalms xiv., xl. 13–17 are found in II. and III. as liii. and lxx. with Jehovah changed to Elohim; such phrases as "God thy God," "Elohim Sabaoth," *i.e.*, "God Sabaoth," are obtained by altering the Jehovah in "Jehovah thy God," "Jehovah Sabaoth" to Elohim. Since, however, this Elohistic editor did not venture

[1] They may have been modified by addition, omission, etc. The reasons for combining IV. and V. and for separating lxxxiv.–lxxxix. from them will appear later.

to make a similar revision of Book I. as a whole, the latter must have been already firmly established.

The Elohistic section II. + lxxiii.–lxxxiii. is plainly a combination of three smaller collections: (i.) a Davidic hymn-book, li.–lxxii., to which the doxology, and the subscription, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," originally belonged; (ii.) the hymn-book of the Korahite temple choir, xlii.–xlix.; (iii.) the hymn-book of the Asaphite temple choir, l., lxxiii.–lxxxiii. (i.) is probably the oldest of these collections.

The Jehovistic appendix, lxxxiv.–lxxxix., is a later Korahite hymn-book.

Books IV. and V. are very similar, and there is no reason for a division at cvi., since cvii. is the sequel to cvi. Hence IV. and V. were one collection, and the doxology at the end of cvi. cannot be, like the other doxologies, the conclusion of an earlier collection. The different Divine Names show that IV. and V. were not edited by the editor of II.; the subscription to II., "the prayers of David are ended," shows that that editor was not acquainted with IV. and V., in which several psalms are ascribed to David.[1] Moreover cviii. is made up of sections of two Elohistic psalms, and retains the editorial Elohim, hence the editor of IV. and V. or one of his predecessors was acquainted with the Elohistic collection. On these and other grounds IV. and V. are later than II. and III.

The absolute date of these collections is difficult to fix; the most probable conclusions are as follows. In I., i., ii., anonymous both in LXX. and Hebrew, were prefixed by the final editor as a suitable introduction to the complete Psalter. The Davidic group, iii.–xli. is the earliest Temple hymn-book. The literary parallels in some of the Psalms suggest that the collection was made after the Exile,[2] perhaps in connection with the organisation of the Temple services by Ezra and Nehemiah.[3]

[1] Unless indeed all these titles were added after the collection IV. + V. was compiled.

[2] Individual psalms, of course, may be much earlier.

[3] ROBERTSON SMITH, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition, p. 221.

The Elohistic section, as later than I., will also be later than Nehemiah, a conclusion supported by the fact that in Nehemiah vii. 44 there is only one Temple choir, the sons of Asaph,[1] whereas before the compilation of this section, the Korahite choir had been formed. On the other hand, this section was compiled before the time of the Chronicler, 300–250, for Chronicles names *three* choirs, Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun.[2]

The Jehovistic appendix., lxxxiv.–lxxxix., to II. and III., is somewhat nearer to the Chronicler. It marks the transition from Korah to Heman and Ethan, by combining Korahite psalms with one headed Ethan, and another, in LXX., Heman.[3]

Hence IV. and V. are later than the Chronicler. The presence in them of Maccabæan psalms indicates a date in that period.

The history of the Psalter may therefore be summarised thus :—

(i.) It includes very early material, but no date can be fixed, even approximately, as that at which the most ancient elements of the Psalter were composed. But the stages of its compilation which we are able to trace belong to the period after the Exile.

(ii.) The earliest collection is the Davidic hymn-book, iii.–xli., compiled about the time of Nehemiah.

(iii.) Later on, three other collections were formed, another with the title David, and two belonging to the Temple choirs, Asaph and Korah. These three were combined by an Elohistic editor.

(iv.) Another Korahite collection was made, and added to the Elohistic section.

[1] Neh. xi. is not part of Nehemiah's Memoirs, but only based upon them ; the threefold division in xi. 17, is not found in the LXX.

[2] i. Chron. vi. 31 ff., xxv. 1. The Chronicler describes the past in terms of the institutions of his own times.

[3] If these positions are correct, the "Jeduthun" of lxxii., Heb. and LXX., may be a later insertion.

(v.) The collection IV. + V. was made, also from earlier collections, cxx.–cxxxiv., cxlvi.–cl., etc.

(vi.) The final editor combined I., II. + III., and IV. + V.; and prefixed i., ii., not later than about B.C. 132 (the date of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus).

This view of the growth of the Psalter, and the arguments by which it is sustained, are substantially those of Robertson Smith.[1] We can only notice four of the objections to this view; only the third and fourth are serious.

(i.) That the Canon was closed in the reign of Artaxerxes I. But the weight of evidence, both internal and external, is decisively against this view. Josephus seems to have held some such theory[2]; but his view is merely a deduction from insufficient and misunderstood data. We also read in ii. Maccabees ii. 13,[3] that Nehemiah established a library containing "books concerning the kings and prophets, and those of David, and kings' letters concerning offerings," but this does not show that the Canon or the Psalter were closed in Nehemiah's time.[4] Moreover, ii. Maccabees is a very doubtful authority. The fact that the Samaritans only received the Pentateuch makes it improbable that the full O.T. Canon had been authoritatively established in Nehemiah's time.

(ii.) The translator of Ecclesiasticus, writing in B.C. 132, refers to a Greek translation of "the Law, the Prophecies, and the rest of the books." The third class probably includes the Psalter, and it has been argued that if the Psalter was translated into Greek in 132, it must have been completed at a much earlier date. But collections of psalms may have been translated into Greek long before the Psalter was completed. The Greek editions of Daniel and Esther were supplemented after they had been translated, even without

[1] Op. cit. Lect. vii., similarly CORNILL. CHEYNE holds that the Psalter was completed before B.C. 142, and that the collections II. + III., IV. + V., were both formed in the Maccabæan period. CORNILL thinks the Elohistic section received its Elohistic revision some time after the collection was formed.

[2] *Against Apion*, i. 8.

[3] Probably written before A.D. 70.

[4] BUHL, English Trans., 10.

any Hebrew authority for the additions; *a fortiori* the Greek edition of the national hymn-book would be readily enlarged to conform with the latest Hebrew edition.

(iii.) We have seen that the doxology, cvi. 47 f., at the close of IV., was added by the final editor; but in i. Chronicles xvi. 8–36, we find a psalm made up of cv. 1–15, xcvi. 1, etc., and cvi. 1, 47 f. This acquaintance of the Chronicler with the doxology seems to show that the Psalter was completed before he wrote. Numerous answers have been given to this objection; (a) that the doxology was a part of the psalm as an independent poem[1]; this is not likely; (b) that the doxology was composed by the Chronicler, and borrowed by the editor of the Psalter[2]; (c) that i. Chronicles xvi. 8–36, is a very late addition to Chronicles.

(iv.) If, as Grätz and Cheyne maintain, Maccabæan psalms are found in all the sections of the Psalter, either the collections are more recent, or the editors have interfered with them much more extensively than Robertson Smith supposed.[3]

The last two objections suggest, as an alternative theory, that the stages of the growth of the Psalter were as given above, but that a Psalter in five books was compiled before Chronicles, *i.e.*, *c.* 300, and that later additions were freely inserted at such points as seemed suitable.

(c) *Date and Authorship of Individual Psalms.*—We have three kinds of evidence: titles, position in the Psalter, internal evidence. For the titles see (d), where it is maintained that they afford us little help. For position in the Psalter, see (a); we may be able to say that certain psalms are older than Nehemiah, and that all are older than B.C. 132, but cannot be much more definite. The internal evidence as to pre-exilic, Davidic, and Maccabæan psalms is considered in (d), (e); otherwise internal evidence does not carry us far. Many of the Psalms are short devotional poems, presupposing no special

[1] ROBERTSON SMITH, *O.T.*, etc., 196.

[2] CORNILL, p. 225. Similarly, CHEYNE suggests that the doxology was one in use at the Temple services, and therefore known alike to the Chronicler and the editor of the Psalter.

[3] *Cf.* (e) Maccabæan Psalms.

historical situation, expressing sentiments common to devout believers in all ages, written in a style which—allowing for the editing inevitable in a hymn-book in current use, and for the imitation of older styles by late scholars—might be used at any time from Isaiah to the Maccabees.

The history of the Psalter renders it probable that a very large proportion of the Psalms, especially in II.–V., are post-exilic, and that many in II. and III. belong to the period of Nehemiah or somewhat later, and that most of the contents of IV. and V. are later still. The contents of many of the Psalms confirm such conclusions; they express the anxious piety of a poor and suffering people whose main interest is the Temple and the Law.

(d) *The Titles, Davidic and pre-Exilic Psalms.*—In attempting to use the titles as evidence for authorship, we meet with many difficulties. Probably the oldest titles did not originally denote authorship. Apparently the "David,"[1] "Asaph," "Korah" psalms are taken from collections bearing those titles. When the smaller collections were merged in larger ones, the origin of the individual psalms was shown by prefixing the title of the collection to each psalm taken from it. But the titles "Asaph," "Korah" probably meant that the collections were the hymn-books of these choirs. So the title "David" given to iii.–xli., li.–lxxii., doubtless indicates some connection with David or his dynasty, but not necessarily authorship by David.

In most of the Davidic psalms, the internal evidence, as far as it goes, is unfavourable to Davidic authorship; and, with the exception of xviii., never amounts to anything like a proof of authorship by David. The notes of time, place, and circumstance, where there are any, do not point to David or his times, and the contents do not suggest the David of the Book of Samuel. As to style, before we can apply this criterion, we must have a fairly large group of psalms, certainly David's, before we know what his style was. We

[1] *i.e.*, iii.–xli., li.–lxxii.; the case is different with the other Davidic psalms. N.B.—In the title of xxxiv., Abimelech is a mistake for Achish.

have no such group. In the Lament over Saul and Jonathan, the absence of any religious element in dealing with so solemn a theme is in marked contrast with the deeply religious character of the psalms ascribed to David.

These facts render it difficult to believe that the Davidic collections consist to any great extent of psalms written by David or in his time. Nevertheless, the tradition that David was a poet, and specially interested in sacred music, is early and persistent[1]; probably he composed psalms, some of which are preserved in I. and perhaps II., disguised by a long process of editing.

The evidence for Davidic authorship is strongest for xviii., a thanksgiving for success in war, which might well have been written by the victorious poet-king.[2]

Pre-exilic psalms will most probably be found in the Davidic collections, those mentioning the king seem to presuppose the existence of the pre-exilic kingdom, *i.e.*, ii., xviii., xx., xxi., xxviii., xlv., lxi., lxiii., lxxii.; but the king in some of these may be borrowed from a pre-exilic model, or may be an archaic ideal, or even, as has been suggested, a Greek or Maccabæan king, or some of these psalms may be purely Messianic.

Outside of I. and II. the title David is probably due to conjecture. There has always been a tendency to ascribe anonymous psalms to David. The LXX. ascribes to him many psalms, which are anonymous in the Hebrew, while some of the "Davidic" psalms in V. are anonymous in some of the best MSS. of the LXX. Later on "David" becomes a title for the complete Psalter. N.T. quotations which connect a name with a psalm, invariably quote it as "David,"

[1] i. Sam. xvi. 18, Saul's minstrel; ii. Sam. i., the Lament over Saul and Jonathan; iii. 33, Lament for Abner; vi. 5, plays before Ark; xxii., author of Psalm xviii.; xxiii. 1–7, last words of David; Am. vi. 5, David inventor of musical instruments. As Sam. is composite, the passages cited show the tradition in existence at different times.

[2] So BAETHGEN, KÖNIG, SCHULTZ, etc.; other psalms often ascribed to David by modern critics are iii., iv., vi.–xii., xv., xix. 1–6, xxiv. 7–10, xxix., xxxii. But, according to CHEYNE, *Introduction to Isaiah*, 171, "no part of the Psalter has yet been shown to have a pre-exilic basis."

even when it is anonymous both in the Hebrew and the LXX., *e.g.*, ii. in Acts iv. 25.

Hence the chief use of titles is to enable us to trace earlier collections.

(e) *Maccabæan Psalms.*—From the time of Theodore of Mopsuestia[1] there have been critics, including Calvin, who have held that the historical situation implied in some of the Psalms is that of the Maccabæan period.[2] The psalms most often ascribed to this period are xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii. In these psalms the Jews are suffering cruel persecution, the Temple has been defiled, and the synagogues burnt, there is no prophet.[3] Yet the Jews maintain their innocence, they are persecuted on account of their faithfulness to Jehovah.[4] The only corresponding event known to us in O.T. times is the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress Judaism, in the course of which he tortured and massacred many faithful Jews, sacked Jerusalem, and polluted the Temple. The persecution was checked, Jerusalem recovered, the Temple purified and reconsecrated, and Judæa rendered independent by the revolt of the Maccabees. As an Elohistic revision of these psalms occurs in II. + (III.), and Robertson Smith attributes this revision to a pre-Maccabæan editor, he rejects the Maccabæan date for xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., and suggests that a similar persecution may have taken place under Artaxerxes Ochus, *c.* 350. Cheyne, 1891,[5] regarded lxxiv. and lxxix. as Maccabæan, but his analysis of Isaiah[6] led him to accept the view that such a persecution took place under Ochus, and to connect lxxiv. and lxxix. with that persecution.

Another group of psalms often regarded as Maccabæan

[1] D. A.D. 428.

[2] For a statement of the views of older critics see Appendix I. to CHEYNE'S *Origin of Psalter*. Amongst later, Cornill and Baethgen recognise as Maccabæan, xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii.; and Baethgen adds ii., lxix., cx., cxlix., "most probably," and lxxv., cii., cviii., cxliv., "possibly."

[3] lxxiv. 7, 8, 9, lxxix. 1.

[4] xliv. 17–22, lxxix. 2, lxxxiii. 3, 4.

[5] *Origin of Psalter*.

[6] *Introduction*, 1895.

comprises cx., cxv., and cxviii. cx., gives a picture of a priest-king, after the order of Melchisedec, *i.e.*, not in the legitimate line of succession, which exactly describes the position of the Maccabæan priest-kings, the first of whom was Simon, 142–135. As the first four verses, neglecting opening formulæ, begin with *Sh*, *M*, *Ayin*, *N*, some have seen in it an acrostic on his name; but the attempts to fit the other three initials, Aleph, Y, M, into the acrostic have not been successful.

cxv., cxviii. celebrate a successful war, in which the leaders have been the house of Aaron, to which the Maccabees belonged.

If any of these are Maccabæan, it is probable that other psalms, which do not clearly reflect their historical situation, also belong to that period. We should naturally expect to find most of these in IV. and V.[1]

Some of the objections to the existence of Maccabæan psalms have been dealt with already,[2] viz., the alleged prior closing of the Canon and of the Psalter. Others are:—

(i.) That as Maccabæan psalms must have been composed shortly before the closing of the Psalter, the names of the authors would have been known, and given in the titles. But the anonymity of most of the later psalms shows that it was not the custom to affix the author's name to productions known to be recent.

(ii.) It is asserted that the Maccabæan period was not one of literary activity. This assumes the point at issue. Moreover Daniel is now assigned to this period, and Ecclesiasticus to a slightly earlier date, *c.* B.C. 180.

(iii.) The language of most of the psalms supposed to be Maccabæan is said to be too classical for so late a period, but the fragments of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus show that writers of the period imitated classical Hebrew with tolerable success.

These objections are not sufficient to prove that there are

[1] CHEYNE, *Origin of Psalter*, 1891, accepted 26, viz., 20, 21, 33, 44, 60, 61, 63, 74, 79, 83, 101, 108, 115–118, 135–138, 145–150.

[2] *Cf.* on *Growth of Psalter*.

no Maccabæan psalms; in the case of those mentioned above, the internal evidence is strongly in favour of a Maccabæan origin; others probably belong to the same period, but it is difficult to identify them.

(f) *Use in N.T.; Messianic Psalms.*—As "David" and "son of David" were synonymous with the promised Deliverer of Israel, and "David" became a title of the Psalter, the N.T. freely uses the Psalms as describing the character and experience of the Messiah. Messianic psalms may be divided into:—

(i.) The Righteous King; ii. 7, "Thou art my Son, etc.," is applied to Christ, Acts xiii. 33, Hebrews i. 5, v. 5; also, "Thy throne, O God, etc.," xlv. 6, in Hebrews i. 8, 9; cx., with its king, who is also priest after the order of Melchisedec, is applied to Christ in Hebrews v.–x., Matthew xxii. 44, etc., "If David call him Lord, etc.," Acts ii. 34 f., and i. Corinthians xv. 25.[1]

(ii.) The Innocent Sufferer; "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," Matthew xxvii. 46, etc., is from xxii. 1; xxii. 18, "The casting of lots" is applied to the Passion, John xix. 24; xxxi. 5, in Luke xxiii. 46, and xxxiv. 20 in John xix. 36.[2]

(iii.) The Typical Man; viii., the divinely appointed relation of Mankind to Nature and the Angels, is applied to Christ, Matthew xxi. 16, Hebrews ii. 6, 7, i. Corinthians xv. 27.

(iv.) The Perfect Believer; xvi. 8–10, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, etc.," was applied to the Resurrection by St. Peter at Pentecost, and by St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts ii. 25 ff., xiii. 35.[3]

The Psalter possesses a special Messianic character as containing some of the loftiest and purest ideals, and most exalted anticipations of O.T. religion, in some of which, at any rate,

[1] *Cf.* also ii. 1, Acts iv. 25; xviii. 49, Rom. xv. 9. Other psalms sometimes included in this class are xx., xxi., xl., lxi., lxxii., lxxxix.

[2] *Cf.* also xxii. 22, Heb. ii. 12; xxxv. 19 and lxix. 4, John xv. 25; xli. 9, John xiii. 18, of Judas; lxix. 9, John ii. 17, Rom. xv. 3; lxix. 23, Rom. xi. 9 f.; lxix. 25, Acts i. 20, of Judas.

[3] *Cf.* also xl. 7, Heb. x. 5–7.

the authors consciously express expectations whose complete fulfilment lay beyond their own horizon.[1]

(g) *Contents and Teaching.*—As these are too rich and varied to admit of detailed treatment, the Psalms have been arranged in groups. But a single psalm often touches on several subjects, so that the classification is only roughly accurate.

I., The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance.

(i.) The appeal of Israel against her oppressors, 44, 60, 74, 94, 129–132, 137.

(ii.) The appeal of the suffering saint—the Israelite or Israel—against the oppression of sinners, mostly either the Gentiles, or the Jews who ally themselves with them. Such alliances are known between Jewish nobles and the Samaritans in the time of Nehemiah, and between the hellenising Jews and the Greeks in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and doubtless existed at other times, 3–5, 7, 10–14, 17, 22a,[2] 26–28, 31, 35, 41–43, 53–59, 62, 64, 69–71, 89b,[3] 109, 120, 123, 140–143.

(iii.) The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance, 6, 39, 40, 61, 63, 86, 88, 90, 102.

(iv.) The appeal of the sinner for mercy, 25, 38, 51.

II., Praise and Thanksgiving.

(i.) For the actual or prospective deliverance of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, the speaker being still in the shadow of recent trouble, 9, 16, 21, 22b,[4] 23, 30, 32, 36, 52, 75, 116, 124, 138.

(ii.) Confident prayer and praise, and expressions of confident faith. There is a tone of unclouded brightness about

[1] *Cf.* also x. 7, Rom. iii. 14; xiv. = liii., Rom. iii. 10–18; xix. 4, Rom. x. 18; xxiv. 1, i. Cor. x. 26; xxxii. 1, Rom. iv. 7, 8; xxxiv. 12 f., i. Pet. iii. 10 f.; xxxvi. 1, Rom. iii. 18; xliv. 22, Rom. viii. 36; li. 4, Rom. iii. 4; lxviii. 18, Eph. iv. 8; lxxxii. 6, John x. 34; lxxxix. 20, Acts xiii. 22; xc. 4, ii. Pet. iii. 8; xci. 11 f., Matt. iv. 6, Temptation; xciv. 11, i. Cor. iii. 20; xcv. 7 ff., Heb. iii. 7 ff.; xcvii. 7, Heb. i. 6; cii. 25 f., Heb. i. 10 f.; civ. 4, Heb. i. 7; cix. 8, Acts i. 20, Judas; cxii. 9, ii. Cor. ix. 9; cxvi. 10, ii. Cor. iv. 13; cxvii. 1, Rom. xv. 11; cxviii. 6, Heb. xiii. 6; cxviii. 22, "The stone which the builders rejected"; Matt. xxi. 42, etc., Acts iv. 11, i. Pet. ii. 7; cxl. 3, Rom. iii. 13.

[2] Verses 1–21. [3] Verses 38–51. [4] Verses 22–31.

these psalms. Many are expressly national, and some celebrate the triumph of Israel over its enemies, 2, 20, 24b,[1] 34, 46–48, 50a,[2] 65–68, 76, 84, 85, 91, 92, 95, 101, 103, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 125, 128, 134, 144, 146, 150.

(iii.) Praise of God in Nature and Providence, 8, 19a,[3] 29, 93, 104, 107, 145–147.

(iv.) Praise of the Law, 19b,[4] 119.

(v.) Praise of Zion, 87.

III., Historical Retrospects, 78, 81, 89a,[5] 105, 106, 114, 135, 136.

IV., Exposition of the Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments, parallel to Proverbs, 1, 15, 24a,[6] 37, 49, 50b,[7] 112.

V., Discussion of the apparent failure of Divine Justice, parallel to Job, 73.

VI., Marriage Ode, 45.

VII., Eulogy of a King, 72.

Probably when 45 and 72 were included in the complete Psalter, a spiritual or Messianic interpretation had been given to them. It is often supposed that in most of the psalms which use the first person singular the speaker is the community—a view supported by the long and widespread use of the Psalter in public worship. Yet such psalms would be based on personal experience, since the Psalter has also proved to be a perfect manual of private devotion.

(h) *Form of Hebrew Poetry.—A priori* probability and the tendency to equal length in corresponding lines suggests an original regular metre;[8] but, so far, all that has been established is a certain correspondence of sense, and, in a less degree, of form, called *parallelism.* The unit of Hebrew verse is usually a couplet, less often a triplet, and occasionally a set of four, five, or six lines. The correspondence of sense between two members of a couplet is of the most varied description.

Each of the two members may express the same or a very

[1] Verses 7–10. [2] Verses 1–15. [3] Verses 1–6. [4] Verses 7–14.
[5] Verses 1–37. [6] Verses 1–6. [7] Verses 16–23. [8] *Cf.* p. 151.

similar idea, in which case we have *synonymous parallelism*, *e.g.*, Psalm lxix. 8,

"I am become a stranger unto my brethren,
And an alien unto my mother's children."

Sometimes the two members express contrasted truths, which both illustrate the same general principle, in which case we have *antithetic parallelism*, *e.g.*, Psalm xxxii. 10,

"Many sorrows shall be to the wicked:
But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about."[1]

Sometimes the second member of a couplet merely completes or supplements the sense of the first, in which case we have *synthetic parallelism*, *e.g.*, Psalm ii. 6,

"Yet I have set my king
Upon my holy hill of Zion."

Such couplets are only distinguished from prose by the context, and, perhaps, by a certain similarity of length and sound between the two members; the general rhythm of a psalm would guide a singer or punctuator in dividing a verse into its two halves.

The subdivisions of these kinds of parallelism have been variously named by different scholars. Two striking peculiarities are: (i.) the actual repetition of a phrase from (a) in (b), *e.g.*, Psalm xcvii. 5,

"The hills melted like wax at the presence of Jehovah,
At the presence of the Lord of the whole earth."

and (ii.) the implied repetition of a word or phrase from (a) in (b), *e.g.*, Psalm xviii. 41,

"They cried, but there was none to save:
Even unto Jehovah, but he answered them not."

[1] Two common forms of the relation of the two members (a), (b) of a couplet in antithetic parallelism may be illustrated mathematically.

We may have—

(a) A is equal to B.
(b) A is not equal to $-B$, *e.g.*, Proverbs xvi. 10,

"A divine sentence is in the lips of the king:
His mouth shall not transgress in judgment."

Or again—

(a) $A=B$.
(b) $-A=-B$, *e.g.*, Proverbs xv. 18,

"A wrathful man stirreth up contention:
But he that is slow to anger appeaseth strife."

Correspondence of form naturally arose out of that of sense, and sometimes, as we have seen, was accepted as a substitute for it, though, as a rule, there is a relation of sense between the two members of such couplets, which produces the feeling of balance or parallelism. The connection of form and sense is best illustrated by Psalm xix. 7–9, where there is a correspondence of "noun to noun, verb to verb, adjective to adjective."

"The law	of Jehovah is perfect,	restoring	the soul ;
The testimony	of Jehovah is sure,	making wise	the simple ;
The precepts	of Jehovah are right,	rejoicing	the heart ;
The commandment	of Jehovah is pure,	enlightening	the eyes ;
The fear	of Jehovah is clean,	enduring	for ever ;
The judgments	of Jehovah are true,	righteous	altogether."

In triplets and larger groups of lines the different kinds of parallelism are variously combined in much the same way as the rhymes in the various stanzas of English poetry. In the same psalm the parallelisms may be of different kinds, but there is a tendency either to use lines of about the same length throughout a psalm or strophe, or else to arrange the lengths on some regular principle. The conclusion of strophes is often indicated by a refrain, *e.g.*, Psalm xlvi. 7, 11,

"Jehovah Sabaoth is with us ;
The God of Jacob is our refuge."

The psalmists occasionally composed alphabetic acrostics ; the most striking is cxix., which consists of twenty-two six-lined strophes. In each strophe each of the six lines begins with the same letter : in the first strophe with Aleph, in the second with Beth, etc. Hence in the English versions each strophe is headed with the name or symbol of its Hebrew letter. Other more or less perfect alphabetic acrostics are ix. + x., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv. Psalm cx. has been read as an acrostic on Simon the Maccabee.[1]

Numerous attempts have been made to discover regular metre with feet, etc., reckoned by syllables, words, quantity,

[1] *Cf.* (a).

and especially accents. No theory has yet been generally accepted.

See W. H. Cobb, *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*, Clarendon Press, 1905.

Many poems occur in the Historical and Poetical Books.[1]

3. Proverbs.

(a) *Composition, Date, and Authorship.*—Proverbs in many ways resembles the Psalter. It is a collection of collections of short poems, assigned by headings to different authors; the tendency has been to give the titles Solomon and David to the complete books, because these two kings were typical representatives of the wisdom and psalmody of Israel. Just as the Psalter contains two earlier collections with the title "David," separated by psalms with other titles; so here there are two earlier collections with the title "Solomon," separated by proverbs ascribed to "the Wise." These facts suggest that Proverbs and the Psalter had similar histories.

Thus Proverbs, as the national storehouse of proverbial wisdom, would be likely to receive additions as long as Hebrew was a living language, or at any rate till some edition of it had been current long enough to receive a canonical status. The production of a new collection of proverbs in Ecclesiasticus instead of an enlarged edition of our book shows that the latter was completed some time before B.C. 200.

According to the analogy of the titles in the Psalter and elsewhere, the headings may have been added by late editors. The prologue, "Proverbs of Solomon, etc.," i. 1–6, was probably prefixed by the compiler of the last edition[2]; neither here nor in x. 1, xxv. 1, need the title imply that all the proverbs were composed by Solomon.

So far, we may place the final editing of Proverbs at some date between the formation of the last collection and *c.* B.C. 250. We have therefore to see within what limits we can fix

[1] *Cf.* Lamentations, pp. 212 f., and Prov., pp. 152, 156.

[2] But xxx. f., may have been added later still.

the dates of these collections. The degree of certainty attainable is lessened not only by the presence of proverbs much older than the collections in which they stand, but also by the probability that some proverbs were inserted and others brought up to date even after a collection had been formed and a title prefixed to it.

The following table states a form of the prevalent view as to Proverbs; titles in inverted commas:—

A, i. 1–6, Prologue by final editor referring to the book as "Proverbs of Solomon."

B, i. 7–ix., Late addition, placed at the beginning as suitable introduction.

C, x. 1–xxii. 16, "Solomon," oldest main collection.

D and E, xxii. 17–xxiv. 22, "the Wise"; and xxiv. 23–34, "the Wise," two appendices to C, combined with it before the other parts of the book were added.

F, xxv.–xxix., "Solomon, copied out" by the "Men of Hezekiah," second main collection, added to CDE as supplement.

G, H, and I, xxx., "Agur"; xxxi. 1–9, "Lemuel" xxxi.; 10–31, three appendices, the two former post-exilic, the last perhaps pre-exilic.

Thus C is commonly regarded as the oldest collection, though some[1] would assign the priority to F.

C is often[2] assigned to the early monarchy, to which period it must, of course, belong if it is older than F, and if the title which assigns F to the time of Hezekiah is correct. Very many of the proverbs in C imply the historical situation of the period; the king is spoken of with respect and appreciation,[3] the general situation seems one of settled order and moderate prosperity, such as prevailed in the Israelite states before the social evils denounced by Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah came to a head. A contentious woman is one of the most serious troubles of life.

[1] *e.g.*, A. B. DAVIDSON, *Encycl. Brit.*

[2] DAVIDSON, *Encycl. Brit.*; CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., p. 133.

[3] xvi. 10–15, xix. 12, xx. 8, 26, 28, xxi. 1.

On the other hand there are features which seem to belong to a later period.[1] It is strange that we find no traces of the fierce polemic of the prophets against Baal-worship and idolatry. Even if the collection was formed before these controversies arose, would it have passed through them unaltered? Again, advanced ethics need not be a sign of a late date, benevolence and pity, within limited circles, have always been popular; but such sayings as

"Jehovah hath made everything for its own end:
Yea, even the wicked for the day of evil" (xvi. 4),

and

"The spirit of man is the lamp of Jehovah,"

"Searching all the innermost parts of the belly" (xx. 27),

point to a period when long reflection had been devoted to the problems of theology and the spiritual life. They may, however, have been added after the collection was formed.

The almost uniform use in C of couplets in antithetic parallelism is not necessarily due to the compiler, but may be due to a traditional convention. The repetition of the same or part of a proverb in different places[2] indicates that C was compiled from earlier smaller collections.

If the heading xxv. 1 is accepted, the appendices D, E to C might naturally, but not necessarily,[3] be placed between C and the time of Hezekiah. These appendices would very well reflect the vice, extravagance, and oppression of the eighth century. Repetitions occur[4] in D, E, which also repeat parts of proverbs from C.[5] The introduction to D, xxii. 17–21, resembles i. 1–6, and may also have been added by the final editor.

The heading of F, "These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah . . . copied out," would be a most satisfactory pivot for the criticism of Proverbs, if it could be certainly relied on. It gives us a

[1] CORNILL, post-exilic.

[2] *e.g.*, xiv. 12=xvi. 25, CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., 133, enumerates nineteen instances.

[3] F may have existed long before its combination with CDE.

[4] *e.g.*, xxiii. 17a=xxiv. 1a. [5] *e.g.*, xxiv. 20b=xiii. 9b.

date for F, and as the "also" implies another collection, which can scarcely be other than C, it shows that C is still older. If F is the older collection, the heading will still be later than C, and therefore not contemporary, but the work of the editor who combined CDE and F, who may be the final editor. The Chronicler mentions no such literary activity on the part of Hezekiah, though we might expect that he would have done so, if this heading lay before him.[1] The proverbs in F imply less settled and prosperous times than those in C, and the king or ruler is sometimes spoken of as an oppressor.[2] The collection may reflect the troubled days when Samaria was tottering to its fall, and Jerusalem was expecting to share its fate. Yet the evils dwelt on are rather those of a society under an iniquitous government, which uses part of the people as instruments of its oppression; and the contentious woman is still prominent. We do not seem to be on the verge of great catastrophes. The antithesis between the righteous and the wicked, and the qualities assigned to them remind us of post-exilic psalms, and the references to the law suggest a post-exilic date.[3] Cheyne, however, regards F as of the age of Hezekiah, or, at any rate, pre-exilic,[4] and Driver[5] writes: "The title (xxv. 1), the accuracy of which there is no reason to question."

F also repeats proverbs or parts of proverbs from C.[6]

The three concluding appendices, Agur, Lemuel, and the Capable Woman, are generally regarded as post-exilic.[7] Agur's meditation on the Divine Transcendence belongs to a very late period of Jewish theology.[8] His quaternions

[1] CORNILL. [2] *e.g.*, xxix. 2.

[3] xxviii. 4–9, xxix. 18, the passages do not seem to be additions, and to render *tôrâ* "instruction" or "revelation" is hardly in accordance with the concrete, practical nature of the proverbs in this section.

[4] *Job*, etc., pp. 145–149; cf. *Origin of Psalter*, pp. 409, 457.

[5] *Introduction*, p. 383, similarly NOWACK, p. xxvii.

[6] CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., p. 143, enumerates 11 cases.

[7] DRIVER, p. 382, "doubtless."

[8] xxx. 5–9 almost reads like a marginal gloss, the protest of a pious reader, who prayed that he might be kept from such dangerous speculations as those of Agur.

remind one of similar groups in the rabbinical sayings in *Pirqê Abôth.* The few verses addressed to Lemuel contain striking Aramaisms.

A post-exilic date is suggested for "the Capable Woman"[1] by its being an acrostic—the other O.T. acrostics[2] are, as far as we know, post-exilic—and by its position in the book.[3] Otherwise the quiet, prosperous circumstances implied in this picture of a strenuous housewife might be those of the early monarchy. The language of the poem would be consistent with such a date.

The date of A and B, which are probably by the final editor,[4] is another crucial point of the criticism of Proverbs. Their similarity to Deuteronomy has led many to place them in[5] the closing period of the Jewish monarchy. But other considerations point to a post-exilic date;[6] the personification of Wisdom is a great advance on Job xxviii., and is closely akin to Ecclesiasticus xxiv. and the Wisdom of Solomon; the account of the divine working in Creation and Providence is an advance on Genesis i. The elaborate structure of some of the sentences, especially in ii.,[7] suggests the influence of a knowledge of Greek.[8]

Thus the general conclusion indicated is that the complete work is post-exilic, not later than *c.* B.C. 250; and that probably C and perhaps F were compiled before the Exile, and A + B after the Exile.[9]

When we come to the contents of these collections, we

[1] *'Esheth hayil*, for which there is no English equivalent. "Virtuous Woman" quite misleads the reader, to whom it suggests absence of vices, especially one particular vice, and not the active, successful well-doing denoted by the Hebrew. "Excellent Woman" has also been well suggested.

[2] Pages 151 f. [3] But see p. 153. [4] So CORNILL, etc.

[5] A. B. DAVIDSON, *Encycl. Brit.*; DRIVER; CHEYNE, in *Job*, etc., p. 168, but *cf.* below.

[6] So CORNILL; CHEYNE, *Founders*, etc., p. 340; KAUTZSCH, *Bibel*, ii. 212; KÖNIG, SMEND, p. 510.

[7] Sometimes spoken of as a single sentence.

[8] The dependence of i.–ix. on Job, and of Job on i.–ix., have been asserted with equal positiveness; *cf.* p. 132.

[9] According to Wildeboer, the book was compiled at the beginning of the Greek period; the older collections at the close of the Persian period. So Toy; but xxx., xxxi., second century.

raise the question of the share of Solomon in the book. Solomonic proverbs and Davidic psalms present very similar problems. Both are supported by ancient tradition;[1] are very probable when all the evidence has been considered, and are naturally to be looked for in the oldest collections bearing the names of David and Solomon. But in neither case is it likely that even the oldest collection is wholly or substantially David's or Solomon's, and definite criteria for Solomonic proverbs are more entirely absent than for Davidic Psalms. The contents of C suggest that the compiler was rather a man in moderate circumstances moving in middle-class society than a magnificent and luxurious king surrounded by a splendid court. Sayings of Solomon would reach such an editor, but are not now distinguishable from his other material. Where the evidence is so vague, critical opinion naturally varies widely. Professor A. B. Davidson writes[2] of Proverbs: "Much" in the book "may be referred to the age of Solomon, particularly the sayings in chapters x.–xxii., though much even in this division may be later"; on the other hand, a distinguished critic denies Solomon any share in Proverbs.[3]

(b) *Text.*—The LXX. differs very widely from the Hebrew; it makes numerous additions, some of which are also found in the Vulgate or Syriac. For instance, after vi. 6–8, which commend the ant as an example, the LXX. adds a similar passage on the bee. The order of some sections is different, the most important change being the insertion of xxx. 1–14 (part of Agur) between xxiv. 22 and 23; and xxx. 15–xxxi. 9 (rest of Agur, and Lemuel), between xxiv. 34, and xxv. 1. This arrangement indicates that the three appendices G, H, I were combined with the rest of the book in different ways by different editors.

The headings, x. 1, "Proverbs of Solomon," xxiv. 23, "These

[1] i. Kings iv. 32.

[2] *Job*, C.B.S., p. lx.; Strack speaks of C as substantially (*inhaltlich*) Solomonic.

[3] SMEND, *A.T. Theol.*, p. 510 n., "Mit den kanonischen Proverbien hat Salomo freilich nichts zu thun."

also are of the Wise,"[1] xxx. 1, "Words of Agur," etc., xxxi. 1, "Words of Lemuel," etc., are omitted, in order that the "Proverbs of Solomon" in i. 1, may be understood to extend to the whole book.

(c) *Contents.*—I. 1–6, GENERAL HEADING.

"The Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel," and statement of purpose of book.

I. 7–IX., IN PRAISE OF WISDOM.

Chiefly in couplets and synonymous parallelism.

i. 7–vii., A series of didactic poems, mostly beginning "My son," exhorting the reader to practise virtues and avoid vice, and thus follow wisdom.

viii., ix., Wisdom invites men to her banquet; warns them against folly. Wisdom as God's agent in creation and providence.

X. 1–XXII. 16, "THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON."[2]

A collection of miscellaneous aphorisms on life and conduct, for the most part secular rather than distinctly religious; almost entirely in couplets, and chiefly in antithetic parallelism.

XXII. 17–XXIV. 22, "THE WORDS OF THE WISE."[3]

xxii. 17–21, Purpose of collection, stated in first person by compiler.

xxii. 22–xxiv. 22, A similar collection to x.–xxii. 16. The grouping of the lines is very varied, from couplets to a set of eight clauses, but quatrains are most frequent. The parallelism is chiefly synonymous.

xxiv. 23–34, "These also are the sayings of the Wise."[4] Appendix to above, including "the Parable of the Sluggard." Grouping of lines varied, parallelism synthetic or synonymous.

XXV.–XXIX., "PROVERBS OF SOLOMON."

"These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." Another similar

[1] Replaced by an exhortation similar to xxii. 17.

[2] This heading is omitted by LXX. and Syr.

[3] xxii. 17.

[4] LXX. omits and replaces by a hortatory clause like xxii. 17.

collection; couplets preponderate, but both grouping of lines and parallelism are varied.

XXX., "THE WORDS OF AGUR, THE SON OF JAKEH, THE ORACLE."[1]

Nothing is known of Agur, the name may be symbolic, "hireling" or "collector of wisdom."[2]

A series of epigrams, from two to ten lines each, on the Divine Transcendence, four wicked generations, four insatiable things, four wonderful things, four intolerable things, four things that are little but wise, four stately things, etc.

XXXI. 1–9, "THE WORDS OF KING LEMUEL."[3]

"The oracle which his mother taught him."

Nothing is known of Lemuel, possibly a symbolic name, "belonging to God." Unless it is thought necessary to claim every verse of the book for Solomon, there is no ground for identifying either Agur or Lemuel with the Wise King.

Warnings against debauchery and injustice.

XXXI. 10–31, THE CAPABLE WOMAN.

An alphabetic acrostic, chiefly in couplets and synonymous parallelism; in praise of the capable woman.

(d) *Teaching.*—The general theme of Proverbs is the practical advantage of industry and prudence, honesty and godliness. The problems of Job are ignored, as they mostly are in Ecclesiasticus, probably not because they were still unknown, but because they were not urgent at the times and under the circumstances when the collections were compiled. The Proverbs state practical truths of average life, and comfortable, prosperous men of a practical turn of mind have a gift for ignoring both speculative difficulties and exceptional suffering. Proverbs also ignores polygamy,[4] and, so far, may be said to praise monogamy. The great passage on Wisdom[5]

[1] So R.V. Text, R.V. Mg., "burden"; others propose "of Massa," understanding Massa as a proper name, possibly a district of Arabia. LXX. omits xxx. 1.

[2] "Ithiel" and "Ucal" should not be taken as proper names, but translated as R.V. Mg.

[3] R.V., or, as R.V. Mg., Lemuel, king of Massa. LXX. omits.

[4] Sometimes regarded as evidence of post-exilic origin. [5] viii. f.

is the basis of the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom, as an almost personal manifestation of God in His working; it is also one of the most striking O.T. statements of God's creative and providential activity.

(e) *Use in N.T.*—The "Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth," of Hebrews xii. 5 f., is from iii. 11 f.; the "cheerful giver,"[1] of ii. Corinthians ix. 7, is a reminiscence of xxii. 8, LXX.[2] The description of Christ as "the Wisdom of God"[3] prepared the way for the later identification of Christ with "Wisdom," which made the statement that God *created* Wisdom[4] a proof text of Arian polemics.

4. **Ecclesiastes.**

(a) *Title.*—The Hebrew title *Qoheleth* has been variously interpreted. It is a derivative of *qāhāl*, an assembly, and is in form an active feminine participle, "one who calls or addresses an assembly." It has been taken (i.) as agreeing with Wisdom understood, but i. 12, "I, Qoheleth, was king," shows that it refers to Solomon; therefore we should adopt (ii.) that the feminine form is used, as in Arabic,[5] for a representative character, so LXX. and Vulg. "Ecclesiastes," Luth. "Prediger," A. R. "preacher," R. Mg. "great orator."[6] Less probable explanations are "collector (of wise sayings)," "caller of assemblies," "debater."[7] Unsuccessful attempts have been made to show that Qoheleth is a cryptogram for Solomon.

(b) *Date and Authorship.*—The language belongs to the latest stage of biblical Hebrew; Aramaic words are used.[8] The vocabulary and idioms have much in common with the

[1] ἱλαρὸν δότην.

[2] *Cf.* also iii. 34, Jas. iv. 6, i. Pet. v. 5; xi. 31, i. Pet. iv. 18; xxv. 21, Rom. xii. 20; xxvi. 11, ii. Pet. ii. 22.

[3] i. Cor. i. 24.

[4] viii. 22, LXX.; Heb. *qānānî*, A. R. "possessed," R. Mg. "formed."

[5] PALMER, *Arab. Gram.*, p. 53.

[6] *Cf.* the masc. names *Sophereth*=scribe (fem.), *Mokhereth*=seller (fem.), Ezra ii. 55 ff.

[7] PLUMPTRE.

[8] *e.g.*, *z'mān*, "time," only elsewhere in O.T., in Neh., Esther, and the Aramaic section of Daniel.

post-biblical Hebrew of the Mishna, etc.[1]; some idioms in constant use in biblical Hebrew are rarely or never used.[2] A more or less considerable influence of Greek upon the language of Qoheleth has been maintained by some scholars,[3] but denied by Cheyne. The language points to a date in the Greek period, or, at the earliest, at the end of the Persian period.

The historical situation is not clearly defined, but we gather that the Jews are oppressed by the officers of an alien government.[4] Such a state of affairs points either to the close of the Persian period, or to the times when the Ptolemies and Seleucids in turn ill-used the Jews, before the revolt of the Maccabees.

On the other hand, neither the situation implied nor the depressed tone of the book suit the stirring period of the Maccabees.

It has been maintained[5] that the version found in MSS. of the LXX. is that of Aquila; but, in any case, the history of the LXX. is too little known to afford much help in fixing the date of this book.

The theology of the book also points to a late post-exilic date. The temple worship is assiduously observed, but a time has come when men can regard it with a languid approval which affords them little comfort. The eager enthusiasm and fierce controversy of Ezra's time seem long since to have died away, and something of the well-bred indifference of the Sadducee has crept over men's souls. This again would suit the Greek period.

Qoheleth has parallels with Greek philosophy,[6] which are

[1] *e.g.*, *kᵉbhār*, "already" (seven times), nowhere else in O.T., but used in Mishna; and the use of *she* and *shel*, alone or with prepositions, for the Heb. *ʾăsher*.

[2] With three exceptions, the Perf. with Simple Waw is used for the Imperf. with Waw Consec.

[3] GRÄTZ, etc., ap. CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., p. 260; TYLER, WILDEBOER. An example is the alleged use of *yāpheh*, "fair," in the ethical sense of καλός, especially in the phrase *tôbh ʾăsher yāpheh*, v. 17, "good which is fair," said to equal the καλὸς κἀγαθος.

[4] V. 8 f.

[5] GRÄTZ, rejected by DILLMANN; ap. WILDEBOER.

[6] PLUMPTRE, *Eccl.* etc.; TYLER.

sometimes supposed to indicate dependence, either on Epicurus, as is suggested by the numerous statements that the only attainable happiness lies in the reasonable enjoyment of the good things of this life; or on the Stoics, whose doctrine of recurring cycles is parallel to i. 2–11, and of Determinism to iii.; or on Heraclitus[1] in such passages as iii. 1–8. Certainly the book has much of the Stoic temper, and less than the Stoic faith, and the many parallels are most easily explained by some influence, direct or indirect, of Greek thought, but it might not be impossible to explain the book as an independent development of Hebrew thought.[2]

While, therefore, the possibility of a date at the close of the Persian period[3] cannot be positively excluded, the weight of the evidence is in favour of about B.C. 200.[4]

It follows that the ascription to Solomon,[5] like that of the book of Daniel to Daniel, is a mere literary form, which the author is not very careful to maintain.[6] But although, with few exceptions,[7] the Solomonic authorship was universally accepted till towards the end of last century, even in 1881 Dean Plumptre wrote, "No one now dreams of ascribing it to Solomon."[8] There are still, however, some works in circulation which maintain the traditional view.[9]

[1] PFLEIDERER, ap. WILDEBOER.

[2] CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., 271, "I do not see that we *must* admit even a vague Greek influence." DILLON, *Sceptics of O.T.*, sees Buddhist influence in xii. 7, the reabsorption of the spirit into the Divine.

[3] So EWALD, DELITZSCH, ap. CHEYNE, KEIL, Eng. Trans., i. 518, *c.* B.C. 444.

[4] CHEYNE, *Job*, etc., p. 271, CORNILL, DRIVER, KAYSER-MARTI, p. 191, KAUTZSCH, *Bibel*, *c.* B.C. 250?; PLUMPTRE, SMEND, *A.T. Theol.*, Greek period, p. 526, TYLER, KÖNIG, Alex. Jannæus, B.C. 104–78; GRÄTZ, Herod the Great, B.C. 39–4.

[5] Solomon is not named, but the wise, wealthy son of David, king over *Israel* in Jerusalem, can be no one else.

[6] *e.g.*, the phrase "all," *i.e.*, apparently, all the kings of Israel "that were before me in Jerusalem," i. 16, ii. 7, 9.

[7] LUTHER, GROTIUS, etc., ap. PLUMPTRE, p. 23.

[8] *Eccl.* p. 21, *cf. Oxford Helps*, "The book was formerly supposed to have been written by Solomon."

[9] Principal DOUGLAS in notes inserted in his translation of KEIL'S *Introd.*, 1871; Rev. W. T. BULLOCK, M.A., in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

As to place of composition, the data are indefinite; it is commonly placed in Judæa,[1] but also at Alexandria.[2]

(c) *Composition.*—Apart from the first two chapters, the book is, as Cheyne says,[3] "rough" and "disjointed." "The thread of thought seems to break every few verses . . . the feelings and opinions embodied in the book are often mutually inconsistent." The theories framed to account for these facts may be grouped thus:

(i.) That the book was written as it stands, and that the lack of coherence and consistency either reflect the uncertainty and varying moods of the author, as in Tennyson's *Two Voices*,[4] or that the book contains a kind of report of the discussions of a religious academy,[5] or that the more sceptical passages are the sayings of an infidel objector, quoted to be refuted.

(ii.) That the lack of order is due either to an accident to the MS. by which leaves were transposed,[6] or to the fact that iii.–xii. were compiled from loose notes of the author's after his death.[7] This view would explain the presence of the collection of proverbs.

(iii.) That the confusion arises from omissions and interpolations made by editors to correct the sceptical tone of the book. This view is supported by the probable analogy of Job.

The epilogues, xii. 9–14, especially 13 f., are often regarded as additions.[8] They certainly read like a subscription by a later hand, *cf.* John xxi. 24 f.; and 13 f. seems to contradict the teaching of many passages of the book. The rejection,

[1] Nowack, p. 197, Cheyne, p. 258, Tyler, p. 63.

[2] Plumptre, p. 39. [3] *Job*, etc., p. 204.

[4] Nowack, Plumptre, Wildeboer. [5] Tyler.

[6] Bickell, who also holds that there are important editorial additions, *e.g.* all the passages implying authorship by Solomon. Naturally additions would be made in the attempt to construct a coherent whole out of the jumbled leaves.

[7] Cheyne, *Job*, etc., p. 204.

[8] Bickell, Cheyne, *Job*, etc., p. 234, Nowack, Plumptre, p. 101. xii. 8–14 are accepted by Tyler and Wildeboer.

however, of this section carries with it that of the other "B" passages.[1] The difficulty as to 13 f. is not that its teaching is necessarily incompatible with the rest of the book; in face of all appearances to the contrary, Qoheleth, like Job, may have clung to his faith in God's righteousness. But 13 f. is *not* "the sum of the matter" either as a summary of the book, or of Qoheleth's feelings as to the subject; nor is it easy to understand how the author of the A passages[1] would have spoken with the assured certainty of the B passages as to God's judgments. Was he able to take, at one and the same time, Job's attitude and that of Job's friends, without having any suggestion to offer as to how they were to be reconciled. The simplest theory of the book seems to be the last (iii.).[2]

An interesting variety of this theory supposes that the Epilogue was added at the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90, to adapt Ecclesiastes for reception into the Canon, and to formally close the Canon of the Hagiographa; 12a is translated: "As for more than these," *i.e.*, the canonical books, "beware, my son; of making many books there is no end."

(d) *Contents.*—Ecclesiastes contains material of three kinds: (A) an exposition of the vanity of life and its practical consequences; (B) notes enforcing ordinary religious views; (C) proverbs of a purely general character, which might just as well have been included in the Book of Proverbs. There is no widely accepted view as to the principle on which the book has been arranged, and the various materials combined.

A1, i., ii., Vanity of human life in the ever-recurring cycles of existence. Vanity of all things, of wealth and luxury, wisdom and toil. Yet it is well to enjoy life as well as we may.

[B1, ii. 26a, God rewards whom He pleases, and punishes the sinner.

[1] See (d).

[2] Dr. Paul Haupt translates xii. 12a: "And it might be well to add: my son, be on your guard against these (sayings)."

Also understood[1] as a statement of God's arbitrary choice of one man for good and another for ill-fortune; "sinner" meaning merely "man." If so the sentence belongs to A1.]

A2, iii.–vi., All things have their season. Vanity of speculation, of life under oppression,

[B2, iii. 17, God shall judge all men.]

or in solitude. Vanity of superstitious worship, of avarice. It is well to enjoy life, such as it is.

A3, vii. 1–viii. 15, A commendation of a sedate life, as cheerful as may be, in face of the emptiness and weariness of all things.

[B3, vii. 26b, viii. 12 f., God shall reward the good and punish the wicked.]

A4, viii. 16–ix. 16, All that man's wisdom can see is that "All things come alike to all"; there is no moral discrimination or intelligible purpose manifest in the government of the world. It is well to enjoy life, as far as may be, for wisdom is a barren gift.

[C, ix. 17–x. 20, Collection of Proverbs.]

A5, xi. 1–xii. 8, We must labour in spite of uncertainty as to results. Let a man make the most of youth, before growing years deprive him of his faculties.

[B4, xi. 9b, xii. 1, God will judge life, therefore let the young man be mindful of his Creator.[2]

B5, xii. 7, Man's dust returns to dust, his spirit to God.[3]

B6, xii. 9–14, Epilogue stating that the author's intentions were good, that undue speculation is dangerous, and that the sum of the matter is that the whole duty of man is to fear God, because He will judge all things.]

[1] WILDEBOER.

[2] For "thy Creator," *bôra'akhā*, P. Haupt, etc. read *bôr'ekhā*, "thy well" understood as a figure for "wife." If so xii. 1 belongs to A5.

[3] Referring to Genesis ii. 7. The "spirit" is not man's personality, but the divine breath, which God resumes. Similar statements are made of the beasts, Psalm civ. 29, Job xxxiv. 14 f. Even so this verse contradicts iii. 20.

(e) *Teaching.*—The importance of Ecclesiastes lies in its exposition of the vanity of life. Following up the assaults of Job, Ecclesiastes deals the last fatal blow to the popular doctrine of retribution. This doctrine traced the divine approval or condemnation in material prosperity and suffering. Job showed that this could only be maintained by a brutally cynic judgment upon all (apparently) good men overtaken by suffering. But Qoheleth shows that this material prosperity itself, wealth, power, luxury, wisdom, long life, is "vanity of vanities"; how then can it be the sign of God's approval? Further he scarcely seems to have gone, but to have brought the matter to this point, cleared the way for another question: "How can the absence of material prosperity be the token of God's disapproval?" Again, Qoheleth ignored, and therefore probably rejected, the doctrine of a resurrection, which we know was already current in his time. But this limitation of his faith enabled him to set forth, with unique emphasis, the truth that man's present life, considered by itself, is unworthy alike of God and man. Such an exposition is a conclusive argument for a future life.

The passages added to declare the certainty of divine judgment, present to us faith, whether author's or editor's, persisting in the face of overwhelming difficulties.

For us Ecclesiastes has two main lessons, both of which it shares with the Book of Job. First, that the frank utterance and discussion of objections to faith may be inspired by the Holy Spirit, even when the utterer can only show grounds for doubts, and cannot resolve them. Secondly, and more particularly, in the supposed interests of God's benevolence and justice, and in order to emphasise sin and responsibility, religious teachers are constantly tempted to ignore

> ". . . . the weight of care,
> That crushes into dumb despair
> One half the human race."

The presence of Qoheleth in the Canon of O.T. Revelation reminds us that God's sympathy with His suffering creation is

wider and deeper than we are sometimes taught; its logical sequel is the sacrifice of Christ.

(f) *Use in N.T.*—There is no evidence that any N.T. writers were acquainted with Ecclesiastes, unless we accept Dr. Paul Haupt's suggestion that "Luke xii. 22–34 . . . (like Psalm cxxvii.) is evidently directed against Ecclesiastes."[1]

(g) *Canonicity.*—The right of Ecclesiastes to a place in the Jewish canon was long contested, but was officially conceded by the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90. The church, as in many other matters, simply adopted the decision of the Rabbis.

5. Song of Songs.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The title, "The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's," may merely mean that it is about Solomon; if it is intended to assert authorship, it is merely a late conjecture suggested by the contents, like so many of the Psalm titles. Solomonic authorship is now very generally rejected. The language has some striking characteristics of the latest period of Hebrew,[2] which point to a date at the close of the Persian period, or even later.[3]

These linguistic peculiarities, however, are often explained by supposing that Canticles was written in the dialect of Northern Israel. The mention of Tirzah, the capital of that kingdom, before Omri built Samaria,[4] has also been held to support a pre-exilic date. There is every probability that the language of Northern Israel had dialectic peculiarities, but there is not sufficient evidence to establish the unlikely theory that these peculiarities coincided with those of the latest stage of the Hebrew language. These are entirely absent from the one O.T. document, which certainly belongs to Northern

[1] *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.*, No. 89.

[2] The use of the prefix *sh* for *'ăsher*, of *Shel*; the occurrence of the Persian *pardes*, park, iv. 13, *cf.* Neh. ii. 8, Eccl. ii. 5; and of *'appiryôn*, perhaps = Greek *phoreion.*

[3] BUDDE, 2nd or 3rd century B.C.; CHEYNE, *Founders O.T. Crit.*, p. 351 f.; CORNILL, not earlier than Persian period; KAUTZSCH, B.C. 332?; KÖNIG, early post-exilic period; STRACK, Persian period.

[4] vi. 4, *cf.* i. Kings xvi. 23 f., also mentioned in ii. Kings xv. 14, 16.

Israel, the Book of Hosea. The significance of Tirzah—pleasantness—would suggest its use as a type of beauty; Tirzah is used as a woman's name in the Priestly Code,[1] and, if Tirzah be the flourishing modern town of Tulluzah,[2] it may have been important enough in the post-exile period to be coupled with Jerusalem.

(b) *Canonicity.*—The status of Canticles was matter of controversy amongst the Jews until the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90, when it was definitely received into the Canon. Yet, even in the second century, parts of it were trolled out[3] in the wine-shops as drinking songs. The Church, as usual, endorsed the decision of the Rabbis. There is no doubt that it became canonical alike among Jews and Christians on the understanding that it was to be used as an allegory. The heading in the Peshitto Syriac, "Wisdom of Wisdoms," points to this view of the book. The defenders of the dramatic theory justify its inclusion in the Canon as a panegyric on virtuous love.

The book is not referred to in the N.T.

(c) *Contents and Interpretation.*—Canticles contains a collection of poems concerning the mutual affection of two lovers. It has been variously understood as:—

(i.) An Allegory; among the Jews, of Jehovah's love for Israel, by Christians of Christ's love for His Church, as in the headings in A.V.[4] There is no reason to suppose that the original author intended the book for an allegory.

(ii.) A Drama; with a full equipment of dramatis personæ, lovers, ladies of the harem, first and second citizens, villagers, etc. This theory has been held in different forms, of which there are two chief varieties. (1) The drama depicts the loves of Solomon and one of his queens,[5] the Shulamite, Solomon assuming at times the character of a shepherd. Thus, i. 1–iii. 5, Courtship; iii. 6–v. 1, Marriage; v. 2–vi. 9,

[1] Num. xxxvi. 11, etc.
[2] G. A. SMITH, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 355.
[3] *Trällert*, BUDDE, Cant. x., quoting Tosephta Sanhedrin xii.
[4] KEIL, *O.T. Introd.*, Eng. Trans., i. 503.
[5] DELITZSCH.

Domestic Difficulties; vi. 10–vii. 9, Mutual Satisfaction; vii. 10–end, the Shulamite takes Solomon to visit her home and family. (2) The drama has three main characters, the Shulamite, a shepherd, to whom she is betrothed, and Solomon, who attempts to win her affections.[1] Thus, i. 1–vii. 9, the Shulamite, in the harem, combats the persuasions of Solomon and his womenfolk by the help of her reminiscences of her shepherd lover; vii. 10–viii. 4, Final Rejection of Solomon in favour of the Shepherd; viii. 5–14, Happy Reunion of the Shulamite and the Shepherd.

According to this view, the book is in praise of pure conjugal affection.

(iii.) An Epithalamium; the book is a collection of songs, connected with a Syrian custom, called the "King's Week." During the first week after marriage the bride and bridegroom play at being king and queen, and are addressed as such by a mock court, in a series of songs similar to those of Canticles. Thus Canticles would contain a specimen of the cycle of songs used at a seven days' village feast in honour of a peasant bride and bridegroom, the latter being addressed as "Solomon," the type of a splendid and powerful king.

Earlier critics had suggested that the book was a collection of songs, but this particular view originated in J. G. Wetzstein's accounts of the custom sketched above. It was accepted and developed by Carl Budde in various articles, and in his commentary on Canticles in the Kurzer *Hand Comm. zum* A.T.; it has been adopted by Cornill, Kautzsch, etc.

One objection to (ii.) and (iii.)—the absence of headings is not serious. We might perhaps have expected headings to songs constituting a collection, and should certainly look for some equivalent of our list of dramatis personæ, stage directions, etc., in the "Book of the Words" of a drama. Yet, in the present instance, their absence is not difficult to understand; they were probably removed when it was decided that

[1] Adeney, Davidson, Driver, König, Smith, W.R., etc., following Ewald.

the book was to be regarded as an allegory. But in spite of the ingenuity devoted to the interpretation of the book as a drama, there is a conspicuous absence of what we should call dramatic—the story does not tell itself at all clearly. The dramatic theory moreover is not supported by any parallels in ancient Jewish literature. On the other hand, Budde's theory (iii.) affords an adequate explanation of the facts. Possibly, however, the cycles of songs used at village nuptials were supposed to tell some traditional story concerning Solomon. We need not suppose that actors assumed parts, the village chorus spoke in turn for different personages, bride, bridegroom, etc. Moreover, the compiler of Canticles may have been acquainted with and used different cycles of songs, so that our book may be a combination of two or more such cycles, or more probably one cycle has been amplified from others.

CHAPTER V.

ISAIAH–DANIEL

1. Our Book of Isaiah, with General Analysis.
2. Isaiah i.–xxxv.
3. Isaiah xxxvi.–xxxix.
4. Introduction to Isaiah xl.–lxvi.
5. Isaiah xl.–lv.
6. Isaiah lvi.–lxvi.
7. Jeremiah.
8. Lamentations.
9. Ezekiel.
10. Daniel.

1. Our Book of Isaiah, with General Analysis.—Our present Book of Isaiah is quoted in N.T. times under the title "Isaiah," but it is not certain that this necessarily means that the whole book throughout was written by Isaiah. The earliest trace of the existence of our book in its present form is the statement in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 23–25 that Isaiah "comforted them that mourned in Zion,[1] etc." The book falls into five main sections: (a) i.–xii.; (b) xiii.–xxiii.; (c) xxiv.–xxxv.; (d) xxxvi.–xxxix.; (e) xl.–lxvi. The present arrangement suggests that (a), (b), (c) are separate collections of Isaianic prophecies, based on earlier collections, with additions. As some of these additions, in each case, are post-exilic, (a), (b), (c), as they stand, are post-exilic; (d) is an appendix, added by an editor who combined (a), (b), (c), therefore also post-exilic. Chapters xl. ff. (e) "Second Isaiah" is a collection of exilic and post-exilic prophecies; apparently, in the time of the author of Ezra, *i.e.*, the Chronicler, this collection was not attributed to Isaiah. Both collections, i.–xxxix. and xl.–lxvi., were completed after the Exile, the exact date depends on the view taken of the date of the latest sections contained in each. It cannot be earlier than

[1] Isaiah xl. 1.

c. 400. The final combination of i.–xxxix. and xl.–lxvi. was probably accidental. In some lists Isaiah stands after Jeremiah, Ezekiel. If Isaiah i.–xxxix. were immediately followed by the anonymous book xl.–lxvi., the combination of the two, under the title Isaiah, would be inevitable. *Cf.* Zechariah.

GENERAL ANALYSIS

(Arranged according to Authorship).

ISAIAH i.–XXXIX.

"First Isaiah."

(Sections not by Isaiah in Italics.)

i.–xi. 9, Judah, Ephraim, Syria, and Assyria.

xi. 10–*xiv.* 23, *First Group of Later Additions.*

xiv. 24–xxiii., Oracles on the Nations (including, however, the older *fragments in xv., xvi.*, and the post-exilic xxi. 1–10).

xxiv.–xxvii., Second Group of Later Additions.

xxviii.–xxxii., Chastisement by and Deliverance from Assyria.

xxxiii.–xxxv., Third Group of Later Additions.

xxxvi.–xxxix., Historical Appendix.

ISAIAH xl.–lxvi.

"Second Isaiah."

xl.–lv., "*Deutero-Isaiah*," Exilic, with Servant passages, *xlii.* 1–4 (5–7), *xlix.* 1–6 (7–13), *l.* 4–9 (10, 11), *lii.* 13–*liii.* 12.

lvi.–lxvi., "*Trito-Isaiah*," a Collection of post-exilic prophecies.

2. Isaiah i.–xxxv.

(a) *Isaiah and His Teaching.* — Isaiah ministered at Jerusalem, of which he was probably a native. He was married, and two sons were born to him during his ministry. He ministered for more than forty years, from his call in the year when King Uzziah died, *c.* 740, till after the retreat of Sennacherib in 701, so that he was born under Uzziah, began his ministry as a young man,

and continued it to old age. The story of his martyrdom under Manasseh cannot be traced beyond the second century A.D. Like Elisha and Jeremiah, he sought to control the home and foreign policy of the government; during part of Hezekiah's reign he was the chief power in the state, and probably Hezekiah's reformation was inspired by him. He protested steadily, but without effect, against foreign alliances, whether with Assyria against Syria and Israel, or with Egypt against Assyria. Like Amos, Hosea, and Micah, he denounced the faith in assiduous and often superstitious and even idolatrous worship as a substitute for a moral life[1] and righteous government, and foretold the ruin of Israel and the chastisement of Judah, but a pious remnant of the latter should be saved. These doctrines were specially emphasised by the names of his sons, "Maher-shalal-hash-baz," "Hasten booty, speed spoil," and "Shear-jashub," "A remnant shall return." When it seemed that Jerusalem must be sacked, Isaiah assured Hezekiah that God would save His chosen city. Isaiah followed Amos in recognising God's control of foreign nations as well as His special interest in Israel, one application being that Assyria was the rod used by God to chastise His people, and that Assyria's delusion that it conquered by its own power would be severely chastised.

Isaiah goes far towards a formal statement of monotheism; he speaks of idols as *'elîlîm*, "nonentities," and emphasises Jehovah's holiness, *i.e.*, His unique deity, and His glory, *i.e.*, His manifestation in Nature.[2]

His practical teaching is largely summed up in his own words:

> "In returning and rest shall ye be saved;
> In quietness and confidence shall be your strength."[3]

Whether Isaiah's teaching included the glowing pictures of the Messianic King, the Messianic Era, and of universal

[1] *e.g.*, chapter i. He does not expressly attack the high places.
[2] ii. 8, 20, vi., and the favourite phrase, "the Holy One of Israel."
[3] xxx. 15, *cf.* vii. 4, 9.

devotion to Jehovah,[1] is a question on which critics are divided. At present there is no decisive proof that such ideas formed no part of Isaiah's teaching.

An important feature of his ministry was his formation of a group of disciples, to whom he devoted himself, when further public testimony seemed useless.[2] Isaiah's prophecies can be distributed with approximate certainty between four periods: the years before the Syro-Ephraimitic War; the Syro-Ephraimitic War; the last years of the northern kingdom; the revolt against Sennacherib and deliverance from him. To us this deliverance is so supremely important, that it seems the natural and necessary occasion for most of the prophecies referring to Assyria; but the scantiness of our data leaves it possible that other crises seemed equally important to those who lived through them. Subject to this doubt we may group the acknowledged sections thus[3]:—

(1) Before the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis, ii. 5–iv. 1, iv. 2–6, v. 1–24, vi., ix. 8–x. 4 (+v. 25–30).

(2) In connection with that Crisis, vii. 1–ix. 7, xi. 1–9,[4] xvii. 1–11.

(3) In connection with the Fall of Samaria, xxviii. 1–6.

(4) Sargon's Invasion, 711, xx.

(5) In connection with Sennacherib, i., x. 5–24, xiv. 24–27, 28–32, xviii., xxii., xxiii.,[4] xxviii. 7–29, xxix., xxx., xxxi.

(6) Later, ii. 2–4,[4] xxxii.[4]

(7) Uncertain, mostly 723–701, xv.,[4] xvi.,[4] xvii. 12–14, xix.,[4] xxi. 13–17.[4]

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Isaiah's earlier ministry probably coincided with the last years of Hosea, *cf.* Amos (b), Hosea (b). The position which Israel had attained under Jeroboam II. was already seriously impaired, but Judah still enjoyed great prosperity. This was threatened by the joint attack of Rezin and Pekah, against whom Ahaz secured the

[1] ii. 2–4, ix. 2–7, xi. 1–9, xix. 16–25, xxxii. f.
[2] viii. 16–18. [3] *Cf.* Contents. [4] If Isaiah's.

help of Assyria. Israel was invaded in succession by Tiglath-Pileser III., Shalmaneser IV., and Sargon II.; the last named took Samaria in 722–1; in 720–19 he marched through Philistia and defeated the Egyptians at Raphia; later on he settled colonies from the East in Samaria, and in 711 he invaded Palestine and took Ashdod. Sargon, in his later years, and his successor Sennacherib had to suppress, by arduous wars, the attempts of Merodach-Baladan to establish an independent empire at Babylon. After Sennacherib's accession Judah joined in a confederacy, under the headship of Egypt, against Assyria; Sennacherib invaded Palestine, defeated the Egyptians at Eltekeh, and devastated Judah. When Jerusalem was at its last extremity, Sennacherib's army perished by divine judgment, and he retreated to Assyria. For a time Judah saw no more of the Assyrians, but Hezekiah's successor, Manasseh, became tributary to them.

(c) *Contents.*

I. 1–XI. 9, First Group of Isaiah's Prophecies, Judah, Ephraim, Syria, and Assyria.

i., General introduction.

1, The title to this collection.

Editorial, the words "concerning Judah and Jerusalem" show that the collection to which this title was prefixed did not include the Oracles on foreign nations, and was, substantially, our i.–xi.

2–31, Judah reduced to the last extremity by invasion, because of ingratitude to Jehovah. Forgiveness is not to be obtained by sacrifices, but by repentance and amendment. The doom of the impenitent. The purified city.

This invasion has been identified with the attack of Pekah and Rezin upon Ahaz, or with Sennacherib's invasion in 701. The chapter may be used as an introduction, because of its representative character. It is probably a compilation; 27, 28, may be a post-exilic summary of what precedes; 29–31 are a detached fragment of an early Isaianic utterance

ii.–v., Minor collection with title.

ii. 1, Jerusalem, its judgment and final destiny.

ii. 2–4, Jerusalem, the centre of revelation for all nations in the Messianic Era of universal peace.

Occurs also as Micah lv. 1–3. Probably Isaiah did not borrow from Micah, nor Micah from Isaiah, but either both from an older prophet,[1] or the section may be a post-exilic insertion in both Micah and Isaiah.[2] Or an editor of one of the books may have inserted it from the other.[3]

ii. 5–iv. 1, The doom of all that is "high and lifted up," because of the oppressions of the rulers and the wanton luxury of their women.

As Judah enjoys great prosperity, this section is earlier than the Syro-Ephraimitic War, *i.e.*, *c.* 736.[4]

iv. 2–6, The Remnant restored to a purified Jerusalem.

Parallels with post-exilic literature suggest that the section is wholly (Cheyne) or partly (Dillmann) post-exilic.

v. 1–7, The barren vineyard laid waste.

8–24, Woes against sinners.

1–24 parallel to previous section, and so *c.* 736.

25–30, Misplaced fragment.

Probably, on account of refrain 25b, conclusion of ix. 8–x. 4, where it seems required.

vi., Isaiah's call, "in the year that King Uzziah died," *c.* 740, Vision of Jehovah and the Seraphim. Commission to apparently fruitless ministry. The Remnant (?).

The chapter may have been committed to writing later on. The last clause, "so the holy seed is the stock thereof," is rejected by some.[5] If omitted, the ruin is complete and final, there is no remnant.

vii. 1–ix. 7, Narratives and utterances connected with the war with Syria and Ephraim, *c.* 734.

vii.,[6] Isaiah tries to dissuade Ahaz from alliance with Assyria, the birth of Immanuel a sign of the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, Assyria will become the scourge of Judah.

8b, "Ephraim shall be broken within 65 years, etc., is a later gloss.[7]

viii. 1–4,[8] Isaiah's son, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, a sign of the ruin of Samaria and Damascus.

viii. 5–15, Jehovah punishes by an Assyrian invasion.

[1] DRIVER, etc., ap. CHEYNE, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 13.

[2] CHEYNE, Isaiah, *Polychrome Bible*, p. 147.

[3] So apparently Duhm, *i.l.*, who thinks the passage composed by Isaiah in his old age.

[4] Possible editorial additions are ii. 5, 6a, 20–22, iii. 10, 11, 19–23 (list of toilette articles), 25, 26.

[5] CHEYNE, DUHM, H. G. MITCHELL.

[6] In third person.

[7] Cheyne and Duhm reject 21–25.

[8] Ch. viii. in first person.

viii. 16–18, Isaiah is to await the fulfilment of his warnings.

viii. 19–ix. 7, In the last extremity deliverance comes through the "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."

viii. 19–ix. 1, is obscure, and is probably a disconnected fragment with editorial additions. Cheyne[1] concludes that Hackmann is probably right in regarding the Messianic passage ix. 2–7 as post-exilic.[2]

ix. 8–x. 4 (+v. 25–30), a poem in five strophes, with refrains, on the doom of Ephraim, before 735.

ix. 15, 16, x. 3, may be glosses.[3]

x. 5–34, On Assyria and Judah.

x. 5–27, Doom of Assyria, the axe with which Jehovah hewed, because it boasted itself against Him.

x. 28–34, Picture of the dismay caused by the advance of the Assyrians.

The former refers to Sennacherib's, 701, or some earlier Assyrian invasion; the latter to either, or to the fears inspired by the Fall of Samaria, 722.[4]

xi. 1–9, The Righteous King, or Messiah, in whose time even the wild beasts will be at peace with man and his domestic animals.

May be referred to *c.* 734, like ix. 2–7, which it resembles, or, if regarded as the sequel to the preceding section, to the same period as x. According to Cheyne, post-exilic.[5]

XI. 10–XIV. 23, First Group of Sections not by Isaiah.

xi. 10–16, The exiles of Israel and Judah will be again united into a single people, will return, and conquer the neighbouring tribes.

This passage, which implies that Judah as well as Israel has been carried away captive, is often placed during[6] or after[7] the Exile.

[1] *Introd.*, p. 45.

[2] *Cf.* § on *Teaching of Isaiah*, p. 172; *cf.* Kayser-Marti, *A.T. Theol.*, 115, 183 ff.

[3] Duhm, Cheyne, Mitchell; Duhm and Cheyne read x. 4a, "Beltis has sunk down, Osiris is broken, and under the slain they fall," which Cheyne regards as a gloss.

[4] Cheyne, Duhm, and Mitchell reject 10–13, 16–27, 33, 34.

[5] *Polychrome Bible.* [6] Kautzsch, *Bibel.*

[7] Cheyne, *Polychrome Bible*, and Mitchell, *cf.* Skinner.

The reference to "the Root of Jesse" suggests that it was written as an appendix to the preceding.

xii., Psalm of praise, appended as Epilogue to the First Collection of Isaiah's prophecies.

Very generally[1] regarded as post-exilic on account of close resemblance to late Psalms and other post-exilic literature.

xiii. 1–xiv. 23, Introduction to Isaiah's Oracles against the Nations; Fall of Babylon, Restoration of the Jews, Descent of the King of Babylon into Sheol.

The Israelites in exile, the captives of Babylon, are to be restored after the capture of Babylon by the Medes,[2] a situation which implies composition during the Exile.[3]

XIV. 24–XXIII. 18, SECOND GROUP OF ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES. ORACLES AGAINST THE NATIONS.

xiv. 24–27, Assyria to be destroyed in Judah.

Perhaps the conclusion of x. 5–15, if so, 722–701.

xiv. 28–32, Philistines to be destroyed by Assyria.

The title, "In the year that King Ahaz died," is probably editorial, and the breaking of the rod, which raised the hopes of the Philistines, was the death of an Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser IV., 722, or Sargon, 705.

xv., xvi., Moab, a description, on the whole sympathetic, of the desolation of Moab and its cities by an invader. The Moabite fugitives are recommended to make their peace with Judah and take refuge there.

These chapters have numerous parallels with Jeremiah xlviii., and are similar in style to the Song in Numbers xxi. 27–30. As they are not in the style of Isaiah, it is commonly supposed that both Isaiah and Jeremiah adapted an earlier prophecy, possibly written when Moab was threatened by Jeroboam II. In xvi. 13, 14 Isaiah announces the fulfilment in the near future of the time of writing, *i.e.*, before one of the Assyrian invasions.

Cheyne, *Polychrome Bible*, regards the section in its present form as post-exilic, hesitates whether to ascribe the original to 722 or 589. Isaiah's share, his additions to an older poem, or fragments of his used by a later writer, are dated 711; xvi. 14 is the only part printed as Isaiah's.

xvii. 1–11, Ruin of Damascus and Samaria.

Period of Syro-Ephraimitic War, *c.* 734. According to Cheyne and Duhm, 7 f., an addition; Skinner, an addition by Isaiah.

xvii. 12–14, The Assyrian invasion, a tempest which shall suddenly pass away.

Which invasion uncertain, Cheyne, 723.

[1] Lists in CHEYNE, *Introduction*, 59, DRIVER, 200.
[2] xiii. 17, xiv. 2–4, [3] DRIVER, *Introduction*, 201 f.

xviii., The overthrow of the Assyrians announced to the Ethiopian ambassadors to Assyria, *c.* 701.

Cheyne and Duhm regard 7. "At that time Ethiopia shall be offered at Zion to Jehovah," as post-exilic.

xix., Egypt, 1–15, Jehovah stirs up civil war, makes the rulers mad, dries up the Nile, and delivers the land to a "hard lord."

The "hard lord" is commonly regarded as an Assyrian conqueror, and the passage has been connected with the defeat of the Egyptians by Sargon in 720; with Sargon's war against the Syrian allies of Egypt in 711; with Sennacherib's defeat of the Egyptians at Eltekeh, 701; with Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt, 672. There is nothing, however, in the passage itself to suggest Assyria or the imminence of a foreign invasion. Jehovah Himself turns the natural blessings of Egypt, its king, rulers, and the Nile, into curses, the "hard lord" is probably a native tyrant. Such might naturally be an utterance of Isaiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib seemed to have put an end to Assyrian invasions; Egypt might be safe from the Assyrians, and yet not escape chastisement.[1]

16–25, The Conversion of Egypt, Egypt humbled under the hand of Jehovah, will stand in awe of Judah. There shall be in Egypt five cities, one Ir-ha-heres, which shall speak the language of Canaan; also an altar and pillar (maççeba) to Jehovah. The Egyptians shall worship Him. Verses 23–25 rank Egypt and Assyria with Israel as the Chosen People: "Whom Jehovah Sabaoth shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."

Of this wonderful prophecy, Robertson Smith wrote: "Never had the faith of prophet soared so high, or approached so near to the conception of a universal religion, set free from every trammel of national individuality"; and, "The allusion to the consecrated maççeba is quite inconsistent with a date subsequent to the reformation of Josiah, and the accepance of the Deuteronomic law of worship."[2] His judgment in favour of Isaiah's authorship of this section is still strongly supported.[3] But there are serious difficulties, in the style and language; in the contrast between the attitude towards Egypt and Assyria here and in the rest of Isaiah and pre-exilic prophecy generally; and in the apparent references to Jewish colonies in Egypt and to the temple of Onias. This temple was erected in the nome of Heliopolis (City of the Sun), and in the neighbourhood of a Temple of

[1] Cheyne and Duhm regard the section as post-exilic.

[2] *Prophets*, 1895, pp. 336, 436.

[3] *e.g.*, by DRIVER, 204, DILLMANN, *A.T. Theol.*, 501, GUTHE (KAUTZSCH, *Bibel*); and, ap. CHEYNE, 109, CORNILL, KUENEN, and STADE.

the Sun, *c.* 160. Hence Duhm dates this passage *c.* 150, and explains Assyria of the Greek kingdom of Syria,[1] Cheyne assigns the passage to 275 (?), in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and many others[2] regard the passage as post-exilic. If so, the superstitious use of the maççeba had long been forgotten, and the term is used in a symbolic sense.

xx., In the year 711, when Sargon's general took Ashdod, Isaiah is commanded to go naked and barefoot three years as a sign of the captivity of Egypt and Ethiopia.

xxi. 1–10, Lament over the imminent sack of Babylon by the Medes and Elamites.

Sometimes connected with the captures of Babylon by the Assyrians from Merodach-Baladan in the time of Isaiah, but the section presupposes the situation towards the close of the Exile, and may be assigned to that period.[3]

xxi. 11, 12, Two obscure verses connected with Edom (Seir), possibly a sequel to the preceding; Edom, which prospered under the Chaldæans, being anxious as to the consequences of the Fall of Babylon.

xxi. 13–17, Ruin of the Dedanites and Kedarenes (Arabian tribes).

Often connected with one or other of the Assyrian invasions; Duhm connects with the rest of the chapter; Cheyne regards 16, 17 as Isaiah's, 711, to which later passages, 604–561, have been prefixed.

xxii. 1–14, The Valley of Vision, Jerusalem is besieged after the defeat of the army, Jehovah calls to penitence, but men sought to drown care in debauchery: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Such sin must be punished with death.

Probably to be connected with Sennacherib's siege in 701, and not with Sargon's campaign in 711. It may have been purely predictive at the outset of the revolt against Sennacherib, or may have been uttered during the war, before Hezekiah had accepted Isaiah's teaching, or may be a retrospect, a judgment after the danger was over on the conduct and temper of the people during the war.

xxii. 15–25, Shebna, the steward, probably a partisan of the Egyptian party, is to be replaced by Eliakim, whose subsequent fall is also predicted.

Connected with the crisis in 701; 24 f., and perhaps 19–23 may be later than 15–18.

[1] So substantially Hitzig, followed by Geiger and Merx (CHEYNE, *Introd.*, p. 109 n.).

[2] *e.g.*, GRÄTZ (ap. CHEYNE, l.c.), KAYSER-MARTI, 115, KELLNER, "Un-Isaianic," MITCHELL, SKINNER "probably," SMEND, *A. T. Theol.*, 210. *Cf.* section 2 (a).

[3] DRIVER, 205.

xxiii., Tyre is to be overthrown, but restored after seventy years, to trade for the benefit of Jehovah and his people.

Verses 1–14 may be connected with the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV., 727–722, or with Sennacherib's campaign in Phœnicia, 701. Verse 13, if read as in R.V., might refer to one of the captures of Babylon by the Assyrians, 710 and 703, but the text is probably corrupt. Cheyne regards it as a late section on an Isaianic basis, and Duhm connects it with the devastation of Phœnicia by Artaxerxes III., *c.* 349, the subject being originally Sidon, for which Tyre was substituted by an editor. Verses 15–18 are probably post-exilic.

XXIV.–XXVII., Second Group of Sections, not by Isaiah, Anonymous; Post-Exilic Apocalypse concerning the Last Things.

xxiv., Earth and heaven are involved in one common shock of doom, the City of Confusion is singled out for special judgment, the praises of the righteous are heard from the ends of the earth.

xxv. 1–xxvi. 6, The thanksgiving of Israel for the overthrow of the City of Confusion and of Moab, and for the consequent salvation of God's people.

xxvi. 7–19, Prayer of God's people for protection and deliverance in evil times.

xxvi. 20–xxvii. 13, Out of the present trouble, and out of the distress which has befallen Israel on account of its sins, shall issue the ruin of Israel's oppressors and the restoration of God's people.

It is generally recognised[1] that, with the possible exception of Isaianic fragments borrowed by the author, these chapters are not the work of Isaiah. Here, as in Micah iv.–vii., compared with Micah i.–iii., the impression made is quite different from that produced by the admitted writings of the prophet. Isaiah's utterances reflect at every turn the actual circumstances of his time; here we are in a different world from that of Palestine in the eighth century B.C. Isaiah was concerned with Judah and Israel, and their neighbours and enemies; here we have a judgment embracing earth and heaven. Assyria was not a city state, and certainly Isaiah never speaks of it as such; here the oppressor is a great city, possibly Babylon.[2] In spite of a number of resemblances,

[1] The chief exception is an able monograph by W. E. Barnes, "An examination of the objections brought against the genuineness of Isaiah xxiv.–xxvii.," Cambridge, 1891. *Cf.* Driver, 207, Cheyne, *Introd.*, 147 ff.

[2] xxv. 2, xxvi. 5, perhaps also xxiv. 10, the City of Confusion here is sometimes understood of Jerusalem, Skinner.

due to literary use of the actual writings of Isaiah, the general style is different from that of Isaiah.

It is probable that a poem consisting of xxiv., xxv. 6–8, xxvi. 20–xxvii. 1, xxvii. 12, 13, has been expanded by the insertion of the songs of thanksgiving, xxv. 1–5, 9–12, xxvi. 1–6, xxvii. 2–6; of the prayer and meditation, xxvi. 7–19; and of the obscure passage xxvii. 7–11.[1]

These chapters presuppose the imminence of far-reaching political changes which might be expected to bring deliverance to Israel, possibly through much loss and suffering; and ruin to its enemies. Such a situation existed, in a measure, towards the close of the Exile; or, more exactly, in the time of Haggai and Zechariah[2]; or, probably during the earlier stages of Alexander's attack on the Persian empire. This section has been referred to each of these periods. The Exile[3] is suggested by the identification of the "city" with Babylon. But the vague, yet detailed apocalyptic picture points to a later date; Babylon was not destroyed by Cyrus, and the Jews still looked forward to its ruin in the time of Zechariah.[4] If the "city" is not Babylon, but either Jerusalem or a symbolic city suggested by Babylon, we might follow Cheyne in assigning this section to the eve of Alexander's conquest of Persia. Duhm connects it with the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, soon after the accession of John Hyrcanus, 129. The "city" is Samaria, destroyed by John Hyrcanus.

The apocalypse is remarkable as containing some of the most striking of the O.T. passages suggesting a resurrection of the dead and an eternal life. In xxv. 8,[5] "He hath swallowed up death for ever," implies that in the Messianic era, Israelites will never die, while xxvi. 19 points to a resurrection of dead Israelites. Universalism finds striking expression in the statement[6] that Jehovah Sabaoth will prepare a feast for all nations in Zion, and there destroy the veil that is spread over them.

XXVIII.–XXXII., Third Group of Isaiah's Prophecies.

xxviii., xxix., The Fall of Ephraim a warning to the priests, prophets, and rulers of Jerusalem of the disasters by which their sin will be punished. (The dependence of the former on inspiration.[7]) Ariel, *i.e.*, Jerusalem, is besieged, but her foes vanish like chaff. The prophets are useless, the people only offer lip-service, and are slaves to tradition. Lack of faith will be put to shame by the glories of the Messianic era.[8]

These chapters are compilations; they are parallel to the other prophecies, to which they might almost serve as a summary. As a whole, they connect with the period when Judah was planning to revolt against

[1] So Cheyne and Duhm, *cf.* Skinner, *Isaiah*, p. 203.

[2] Hag. ii. 6-9, 20–23, Zech. i. 11–17. [3] So Kellner.

[4] Zech. v. 5–11. The section is referred to this period by Dillmann.

[5] Quoted in i. Cor. xv. 54, and Rev. vii. 17. [6] xxv. 6, 7.

[7] xxviii. 23–29, if not a later addition, may imply that *a fortiori* statesmen need inspired guidance. [8] xxix. 15–34.

Sennacherib, relying on help from Egypt, *i.e.*, *c.* 702. xxviii. 1–6 may have been composed just before the Fall of Samaria, and afterwards utilised as an introduction. On the other hand, xxviii. 1–6, has been held to determine the date of the whole series of prophecies, which have been therefore assigned to *c.* 722. The Messianic picture xxix. 16–24 is often regarded as post-exilic.[1]

xxx., xxxi., A collection of prophecies on the folly and sin of alliance with Egypt, with which have been combined an apocalyptic picture of the regeneration of Israel and the renewal of Nature in the Messianic era,[2] and two sections[3] on the deliverance of Israel from Assyria.

The interest in the Egyptian alliance connects with the eve of Sennacherib's invasion, 702. Duhm and Mitchell regard xxx. 18–26, and Cheyne and Kellner 18–33 as post-exilic. Cheyne also rejects xxxi. 5–9.

xxxii., A picture of the Righteous King, the spiritual regeneration and material prosperity of the Messianic age, into which is inserted a warning to the ladies of Jerusalem.[4]

Driver regards this chapter as a sequel to the preceding, *i.e.*, *c.* 702; Duhm regards it as mostly Isaiah's, and partly, at any rate, the work of his old age. Cheyne and Cornill treat it as post-exilic.

XXXIII.–XXXV., Third Group of Sections not by Isaiah.

xxxiii., An Apocalyptic Psalm, in which the Jews, in their distress, look forward to deliverance and the establishment of a Messianic King, who shall reign in peace at Jerusalem.

The style, the apocalyptic character, the description of Zion as righteous, and as the "city of sacred feast" or "feasts,"[5] the parallels with late psalms, all point to a post-exilic date.[6] Driver, however, still[7] refers it to the point in Sennacherib's invasion, at which, having accepted tribute from Hezekiah, he made fresh demands on him, thus breaking a covenant.[8]

xxxiv., The Doom of Edom, when Jehovah chastises the nations.

The singling out of Edom as a special object of divine justice began with the hostility of Edom to the Jews at the Fall of Jerusalem. Hence this section is exilic or post-exilic.[9]

[1] Cheyne, Duhm (Maccabæan), Mitchell. Cheyne also rejects xxviii. 5, 6, 23–29, xxix. 5, 7, 8, 11, 12. [2] xxx. 18–26.
[3] xxx. 27–33, xxxi. 5–9. [4] 9–14. [5] Verses 5, 20.
[6] Cheyne, Duhm, *c.* 162, Cornill, Kayser-Marti, p. 115.
[7] 213, *cf.* ii. Kings xviii. 13–27. [8] Verse 8.
[9] Driver towards close of Exile on account of parallels with Isaiah xl. ff., etc.; so Cornill, Cheyne, 400 or later.

xxxv., The wilderness is turned into a fruitful, well-watered garden, through which, by a holy way, the exiles return to Zion.

Probably sequel to xxxiv. by same author. The parallels with Isaiah xl. ff. may point to a similar date or to dependence on exilic literature.

(d) *Use in N.T.*—The commission to harden the people's hearts, vi. 9 f., was a favourite quotation of our Lord's, Matt. xiii. 14 f., Mark iv. 12, Luke viii. 10, John xii. 40, Acts xxviii. 26 f. The LXX. of vii. 14 is quoted in Matt. i. 23, Luke i. 31, "A virgin shall conceive," etc.; also i. 9 in Rom. ix. 29; viii. 12 f. in i. Peter iii. 14 f.; viii. 17 f. in Heb. ii. 13 f.; ix. 1 f. in Matt. iv. 15 f.; x. 22 f. in Rom. ix. 27 f.; xxii. 13 in i. Cor. xv. 32; xxviii. 11 in i. Cor. xiv. 21; xxviii. 16 in Rom. ix. 33, x. 11, i. Peter ii. 6; xxix. 10 in Rom. xi. 8; xxix. 13 in Matt. xv. 8 f., Mark vii. 6 f.; xxix. 14 in i. Cor. i. 19.

3. Isaiah xxxvi.–xxxix.

The Historical Appendix to the Collection, i.–xxxv.—An account of Sennacherib's invasion, Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, and Merodach-baladan's embassy. It is chiefly taken from ii. Kings xviii. 13–xx. 19, *q.v.* The main differences are the omission of ii. Kings xviii. 14–16 (Hezekiah's submission) and the insertion of Hezekiah's prayer (xxxviii. 9–20).

The dependence on Kings is shown by the following facts: the collection to which the appendix is added contains sections much later than the final compilation of the Book of Kings; the peculiarities of the appendix are best explained by supposing it a secondary work based on Kings, which it partly abridges, partly distorts,[1] and partly follows in the form and with the additions due to the Deuteronomic editor of Kings.

Hezekiah's prayer is the psalm of a sufferer who has recovered from dangerous illness. The heading, where we

[1] *e.g.*, xxxviii. 21, 22=ii. Kings xx. 7, 8 is unintelligible as it stands in Isaiah, and has been misplaced through the insertion of Hezekiah's prayer. The two "had saids" of E.V. are harmonising mistranslations. The verbs are the same as in Kings.

should read "Miktam of Hezekiah," and the reference to stringed instruments,[1] show that the poem has been taken from a collection of psalms, to the editor of which the ascription to Hezekiah is probably due. The language and ideas are similar to those of Job and late psalms, and the poem is probably post-exilic.[2] Dillmann, however, defended the authorship by Hezekiah.

4. Introduction to xl.–lxvi.

(a) *Composition of xl.–lxvi.*—A variety of evidence shows that these chapters are not the work of Isaiah, and do not belong to his age, and that, with small and doubtful exceptions, no part of them is earlier than the close of the Exile. The Historical Appendix would be intended to close the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, as a similar appendix does that of Jeremiah. Hence the editor who added it did not know xl. ff. as Isaiah's. These chapters are anonymous, they have no heading ascribing them to Isaiah. Ezra i. 1 f.[3] refer to Isaiah xliv. 28, but state that Cyrus acted according to a prophecy of Jeremiah, and do not mention Isaiah. So that the author of Ezra knew Isaiah xliv., but not as Isaiah's. Moreover Jeremiah and Ezekiel in dealing with the Exile and Restoration do not mention any prophecies of Isaiah on the same subject.

The historical situation presupposed in many sections, is clearly that of the Exile, and in others apparently still later.[4] On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the author is living in Isaiah's time. Isaiah constantly betrays his interest in the people and circumstances of his own time, in Hezekiah, Pekah, and Rezin, in Judah, Ephraim, Syria, Assyria, and Egypt. In xl. ff. all these have disappeared, Assyria and Egypt are only referred to as matter of ancient history. It is not that the chapters *predict* the ruin of Jerusalem and the Exile and Return. They assume that Jerusalem is in ruins and the Jews in Exile, and describe

[1] Verses 9, 20. [2] Cheyne, Duhm, Mitchell.
[3] 300–250. [4] *Cf.* on xl.–xlviii., xlix.–lv., lv.–lxvi.

the Return as imminent. They would have been unintelligible to Isaiah and his contemporaries. Professor G. A. Smith writes[1]: "It will perhaps startle some to hear John Calvin quoted on behalf of the exilic date of these prophecies. But let us read and consider this statement of his: 'Some regard must be had to the time when this prophecy was uttered; for since the rank of the kingdom had been obliterated, and the name of the royal family had become mean and contemptible, during the captivity in Babylon, it might seem as if through the ruin of that family the truth of God had fallen into decay, and therefore he bids them contemplate by faith the throne of David, which had been cast down.'"[2]

The theology of xl. ff. is different and more advanced than that of Isaiah. Isaiah's theology is subordinated to his practical message, but xl. ff. dwell on the transcendental attributes of God; they substitute the Servant of Jehovah for the Messianic King, and, in some sections, represent the Jews not, as in Isaiah, hopelessly lost in sin, but as charged with a spiritual mission to the Gentiles.

The evidence of style and language is also strongly against authorship by Isaiah, and in favour of exilic or post-exilic dates for the various sections. These chapters only resemble the actual prophecies of Isaiah, as a later work would necessarily resemble a well-known classic of earlier times on a similar subject. They are influenced in the same way by Jeremiah. On the other hand, most of the characteristic terms, phrases, and idioms used by Isaiah are either absent from or very rare in xl. ff., and *vice versâ* these chapters introduce a new vocabulary and style of their own.[3]

[1] *Isaiah*, vol. ii., pp. 14 f. [2] CALVIN on Isaiah lv. 3.

[3] Only two or three illustrations can be given, *e.g.*, *elîlîm*, "nonentities," of idols, occurs seven times in i.–xxxi., and never in xl. ff., though it would have been most useful in the polemic against idols. On the other hand, *'aph*, "also" occurs twenty-two times in xl.–xlviii., never in undisputed portions of Isaiah. Of course, the force of such items of evidence is cumulative, and can only be appreciated if carefully and exhaustively studied. See CHEYNE, *Introduction to Isaiah*; DRIVER, *Introduction*, pp. 225 ff., Isaiah ("Men of the Bible"); and SKINNER, Isaiah xl.–lxvi., pp. xxxix. ff.

The integrity of xl. ff. is still matter of controversy. Driver still[1] states that "These chapters form a continuous prophecy," and apparently maintains unity of authorship, but admits that "The *literary* unity of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. is undoubtedly imperfect, especially in its later chapters: naturally the whole will not have been delivered by the prophet continuously." But the tendency of criticism is against the integrity, which, even apart from the possible insertion of earlier material, is often denied.[2] Cornill ascribes xl.–lxii. to the same author, xl.–xlviii. before the Exile, xlix.–lxii. after. He regards lxiii.–lxvi. as, at any rate, in their present form, by another author. Duhm regards xl.–lv.,[3] "Deutero-Isaiah," as a single work with which the Servant poem, an independent post-exilic work, *c.* 500, has been interwoven; lvi.–lxvi., "Trito-Isaiah," is another single work, *c.* 444. Cheyne regards xl.–xlviii.[3] as exilic, xlix.–lv.[3] as a post-exilic appendix to it, the independent Servant poem being interwoven with the complete work; lvi.–lxvi. is a collection of prophecies, 450–350. The clearest way of stating the facts bearing on integrity has seemed to be to deal with sections separately. At present, evidence and discussion point to the conclusion that xl.–lv.[3] are exilic, the Servant passages an independent exilic or post-exilic poem, and lvi.–lxvi., in spite of some serious difficulties, a collection of post-exilic passages by different authors. Such reasons for this view as space permits will be found in connection with the separate sections.

(b) *Historical Circumstances of Isaiah xl.–lxvi.*—These chapters in their different sections are referred to various dates between Manasseh, *c.* 695, and Alexander the Great, 333, but chiefly to *c.* 549–432. During 549–538 Jerusalem and the Temple were in ruins, and the bulk of the people exiles in Babylonia. After the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, which was clearly threatened after 549, Judæa and the Jews became subjects of Persia; there was a

[1] Sixth Edition, pp. 230, 244.
[2] G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, xl. ff., p. 20.
[3] Less Servant passages.

Jewish community in Judæa,[1] which rebuilt the Temple, but had to maintain a constant struggle with physical disadvantages and unfriendly neighbours. It seemed as if the Jews would be absorbed in the neighbouring tribes, and the worship of Jehovah be degraded to the level of and combined with that of "other gods." Nehemiah and Ezra secured the distinct existence of the community and its religion, by building the walls of Jerusalem, and separating the Congregation of Israel from the Samaritans and their Jewish allies. The Persian government was usually favourable to the Jewish worship of Jehovah, but local officials were sometimes hostile, and in 350–345, under Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews were disaffected, and the Persians oppressed them—probably also at other times.[2]

5. Isaiah xl.–lv. Duhm's Deutero-Isaiah.

(a) *Contents.*

xl., xli., Promise of the Return of the Exiles, guaranteed by the unique deity of Jehovah, which is manifested in Nature and Providence, and especially in the victorious advance of Cyrus, because Jehovah raised him up and announced his coming beforehand.

xlii. 1–9, *First Servant Passage.*—The meek and gentle Teacher of the Law as the Restorer of Israel.

Duhm and Cheyne regard only 1–4 as part of the original poem. According to Cheyne, 5–7 is an editorial link connecting the Song on the Servant with the prophetic framework.

xlii. 10–xlviii., Further exposition of themes of xl. f., Deliverance for Israel, by the free grace of Jehovah, through His Messiah, Cyrus; Judgment on Babylon, Vindication of Jehovah's unique deity as above, Humiliation of the gods of Babylon.

Later insertions, according to Duhm and Cheyne, are two sections on idolatry, xliv. 9–20, xlvi. 6–8, and the series of passages in xlviii., which address Israel as treacherous, apostate, and unbelieving, viz., 1^b, 2, 4, 5^b, 7^b, 8^b–10, 11^b, 16^b–19, 22. The harsh and unqualified censure of these verses is very different from the sympathetic and encouraging attitude of the rest of xl.–xlviii.

[1] *Cf.* on Ezra.

[2] *Cf.* "*Historical Circumstances*" in § § on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

xlix. 1–6 (7–13), *Second Servant Passage.*—The Prophet not only to Israel, but also to the nations. (The agent at first despised, then honoured, of the glorious restoration of Israel.)

Verses 7–13 are sometimes regarded as part of the Servant poem; 7–12 form one of Cheyne's "links."

xlix. 14–l. 3, Jehovah dispels doubt and depression by assurances of His power and set purpose to deliver Israel.

l. 4–9 (10, 11), *Third Servant Passage*, The persecuted Prophet, who shall be vindicated and avenged. (The Servant's patience an example.)

Verses 10, 11 another "link," an application to later times, Cheyne; similarly Duhm and Skinner.

li. 1–lii. 12, Exultant lyrics on the imminent restoration of Jerusalem from its ruin and the departure of the captives from Babylon.

Duhm and Cheyne regard li. 15, 16; lii. 3–6 as insertions.

lii. 13–liii. 12, *Fourth Servant Passage*, The despised Martyr and His reward, Atonement for Israel.

liv., lv., The future glories of Zion contrasted with her ruin and humiliation, Appeals to the people to accept the certain deliverance.

(b) *Date and Authorship of xl.–xlviii.* (*apart from Servant Passages*).—This section is generally assigned to the close of the Exile. Those addressed are exiles in Babylonia,[1] to whom a speedy return through the desert to Jerusalem is promised.[2] Jehovah has raised up Cyrus, already a mighty conqueror, and about to overthrow Babylon, release the exiles and rebuild Zion and its Temple.[3] The situation thus presupposed points to a date between the conquest of Media by Cyrus in 549 and his capture of Babylon in 538. The author probably wrote in Babylonia.[4] His name is quite unknown; *cf.* § 4.

[1] xlii. 22, xliii. 14.

[2] xl. 1–11, xliii. 1–7, 19, xlviii. 20, 21.

[3] xli. 25, xliv. 24–xlv. 3, xlvi. 1–5, 10, 11, xlvii., xlviii. 14.

[4] Ewald and Bunsen ascribed xl.–lxvi. to a Jew writing in Egypt, and others to a Jew in Judæa, SKINNER, *Isaiah xl.–lxvi.*, p. l. DUHM, *Jesaia*, p. xviii., assigns xl.–lv. (apart from Servant Passages) to a Jew in Northern Phœnicia.

(c) *Teaching of xl.–xlviii. (apart from Servant Passages).*—Confronted with the magnificent worship of the Babylonian gods, who, it might be supposed, had given victory to their worshippers, the Jews needed to be reassured as to the power of Jehovah. Hence a formal assertion and proof of the unique deity of Jehovah as Creator and Governor of the world.[1] This proof rests partly on Jehovah's announcement of the coming conquests of Cyrus, and is given as an assurance of the deliverance from Babylon. Cyrus is His Messiah,[2] and Israel His Servant.[3] The result of the work of Cyrus will be the recognition of Jehovah as the one true God by all nations.[4]

(d) *Use in N.T. of xl.–xlviii.*—xl. 3 f. is applied to John the Baptist in Matthew iii. 3, Mark i. 3, John i. 23, Luke iii. 3–6; and xl. 8 is quoted in i. Peter i. 24 f.; xl. 13 f. in Romans xi. 34 f. and i. Corinthians ii. 16; and xlv. 23 in Romans xiv. 11.

(e) *Date and Authorship, etc. of xlix.–lv. (apart from Servant Passages).*—*Primâ facie* these sections seem to imply the same historical situation as xl.–xlviii., to which they seem a natural sequel. Judah is still desolate,[5] and a return of the exiles[6] is promised.

Cornill[7] explains the acknowledged break at the end of xlviii. by regarding xlix.–lxii. as a sequel written later on in Palestine by the same author; while Duhm treats xl.–lv. as a single work. Unless the Servant passages are a later insertion, after xlix.–lv. had been added to xl.–xlviii., xl.–lv. is obviously a single work; two different authors would scarcely have utilised the Servant poem so similarly and so harmoniously. Differences of subject, such as the absence from these chapters of express references to Cyrus, Babylon, and the contrast between Jehovah and idols, do not necessarily imply a distinct work. Nevertheless Cheyne in

[1] xl., xli. 21–29, xliv., xlv. 1–3, xlviii. 1–8.
[2] xlv. 1. [3] xlv. 4, etc.
[4] xlv. 6, 14–17. [5] xlix. 19, li. 3, li. 17–lii. 2.
[6] xlix. 22–26, li. 11 (gloss according to Cheyne), lii. 11 f. (understood of Babylon), lv. 12. [7] Page 157 f.

the Polychrome Isaiah follows Kosters in adopting a view similar to that of Kuenen's, which he expressly rejected in his *Introduction*,[1] and regards xlix.–lv. as post-exilic, and apparently the Servant passages as later insertions still. If such a view is adopted, the desolation of Zion is the mean estate of Judah after the Return, and the exiles are those who still remained in Babylon. Certainly Zion is addressed rather as a city in distress, but still actually existing, than as ruined and uninhabited. Cheyne excludes authorship by the author of xl.–xlviii. by suggesting, doubtfully, the date 432.

The teaching of these sections is substantially included in that of xl.–xlviii., the tendency is, however, to dwell on the secular dominion rather than the spiritual influence of Israel, and liv. 17 speaks of the "servants" instead of the "Servant of Jehovah."

In N.T. lii. 5 is quoted in Romans ii. 24; lii. 7 in Romans x. 15; lii. 11 in ii. Corinthians vi. 17; the promise made to the restored Jerusalem in liv. 1 is applied to the heavenly Jerusalem in Galatians iv. 27; liv. 13 is quoted in John vi. 45; lv. 3 in Acts xiii. 34.

(f) *The Servant of Jehovah*, *xlii.* 1–4 (5–9), *xlix.* 1–6 (7–13), *l.* 4–9 (10, 11), *lii.* 13–*liii.* 12.[2]

A certain connection can be shown between these sections and their contexts, as may be gathered from the difference of opinion as to whether the verses in brackets belong to the Servant passages, or to the main portion of xl.–lv., or are editorial links composed to connect the Servant passages with the context. Yet these passages stand out from the surrounding material; the connection would be improved, and the whole would be more homogeneous if they were removed. Elsewhere the Servant is clearly a title for the actual Israel, there is scarcely an approach to personification; here the Servant is either an ideal person, or, even if still Israel, Israel personified as a teacher and prophet of Revelation, and a

[1] 1895. [2] The verses in brackets are perhaps secondary; *cf.* (a).

martyr (? for the world). The ministry to all nations, and the vicarious atonement of the sufferings of the righteous[1] are characteristic of these sections.

The contrast has been explained as follows: (i.) The author used an earlier poem, possibly composed by himself; (ii.) the sections were written in the ordinary way as part of xlviii.–lv., and the contrast is a literary device of the author to produce a dramatic effect; (iii.) the sections are parts of a separate poem, which were combined by an editor with the rest of xlviii.–lv.

The Servant in these passages has been explained as Israel personified, either actual, purified, or ideal, or the righteous kernel of the people, or the genius of the nation; as describing or based upon the experiences of Jeremiah, of some post-exilic scribe, or some other martyr; as personifying the prophetic order; or as a prediction of a future Prophet or Redeemer. In any case, the prophecy received its only adequate fulfilment in Christ; as Prof. G. A. Smith writes: "We . . . assert what none but prejudiced Jews have ever denied, that this great prophecy . . . was fulfilled in One Person, Jesus of Nazareth, and achieved in all its details by Him alone."[2]

If these sections are from an independent poem, the Servant would seem to be a person; the picture can scarcely be a mere description of past history, though some features may be borrowed from the experiences of a prophet, possibly Jeremiah or even the author himself. But if the sections were written at the same time and by the same author as their context, the Servant will rather be Israel, in some sense, as elsewhere in xl.–lv.[3]

In N.T., the Servant is constantly identified with Christ; *cf.* xlii. 1–4 with Matt. xii. 17–21; xlix. 6 with Acts xiii. 47; lii. 15 with Rom. xv. 21; liii. 1 with John xii. 38, Rom. x. 16;

[1] xlii. 1, 4, xlix. 9, liii. 5–12. [2] Isaiah xl.–lxvi., p. 267.

[3] ZIMMERN, *Keilinschriften und das AT*[3], p. 384, suggests that some features are from Babylonian texts in which the king, suffering from disease or misfortune, is spoken of in mythological terms as the Servant of the Deity.

liii. 4 with Matt. viii. 17, i. Peter ii. 24 ff.; liii. 7 f. with Acts viii. 32 f.; liii. 12 with Luke xxii. 37, Heb. ix. 28.[1] *Cf.* also xlix. 8 with ii. Cor. vi. 2.

6. Isaiah lvi.–lxvi. (Duhm's Trito-Isaiah.)

lvi. 1–8, Proselytes and Eunuchs to be admitted to the privileges of Jehovah's people, on condition that they observe the Sabbath; "for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."[2] More exiles shall yet return.

The existence of the Temple and the implied return of some exiles point to a post-exilic date. The keen interest in the Sabbath has no parallel in xl.-lv., but may connect with Nehemiah's enforcing of the observance of the Sabbath.[3] If so, we may date *c.* 444.[4]

lvi. 9–lvii., Denunciation of the Jewish rulers, and of the immoral superstitions of their neighbours, promise of ultimate forgiveness and deliverance to the humble and penitent.

The references to rulers and worship at high places point to composition in Palestine. The parallels in the earlier prophets to these pictures of government and religion have often led to the conclusion that lvi. 9-lvii. 11 or 13 is borrowed from a pre-exilic prophet.[5] Cheyne, however, points out that the picture suits equally well the low material and spiritual state of the Jews before the reforms of Nehemiah,[6] and his examination of the language and the literary parallels leads him to assign lvi. 9–lvii. 13a to that period, the idolaters being the Samaritans.[7] He regards 13b–21 as a later work by a different author.

lviii., The True Fast and the True Sabbath.

The marks of time in this chapter are not decisive, but its position in the book, and the parallels to lvi. 1–8 and Zechariah vii. 1–14 point to a post-exilic date.

lix. 1–15a, Denunciation of the Jews, followed by their unreserved confession of sin.

Here again lix. 3–15 is often regarded as pre-exilic[8]; the section implies at least autonomy in Judah, and cannot well be exilic. The social wrong-doing is similar to that denounced by Isaiah and Jeremiah. But the best parallel is to Nehemiah's confession on behalf of Israel, and to the confession of the congregation under Ezra and Nehemiah,[9] and points to a date in that period.[10]

[1] Mark xv. 28 is a misreading.
[2] Quoted Matt. xxi. 13, Mark xi. 17, Luke xix. 46.
[3] Neh. x. 31, xiii. 15–22. [4] So CHEYNE.
[5] RYSSEL (Kautzsch), CORNILL, p. 160, DRIVER, p. 244, "It is generally allowed . . . that they were written originally in the age of Jeremiah." [6] So also SKINNER. [7] So DUHM.
[8] DRIVER, p. 244, "generally allowed."
[9] Ezra x. 2, 13; Neh. i., ix. 2, 33.
[10] CHEYNE, DUHM; SKINNER, post-exilic. 3–8, are perhaps an addition.

lix. 15b–21, Jehovah puts on the Armour of Righteousness to deliver Israel. In verse 21, His Spirit and Revelation shall always abide in Israel.

Parallel to lxiii. 1–6 ; Cheyne, *c.* 432, verse 21 an addition. Verses 7 f. are quoted Romans iii. 15 ff.

lx.–lxii., The wealth and power, the splendour and glory of Zion, when Jehovah raises her from her low estate.

This section is like xl.–xlviii. in style and spirit, but resembles xlix.–lv. still more closely. It might possibly be a detached portion of either poem. But, though the situation described may be explained as that of the Exile, it is more natural to understand that Zion and the Temple are actually in existence.[1] The desolation refers to the poverty-stricken state of the meagre population before the coming of Nehemiah. Moreover, the tendency to revel in pictures of material wealth and power has developed beyond that of xlix.–lv. Hence Cheyne regards lx.–lxii. as composed under the influence of xlix.–lv.; lxi. 1–4 and lxii. 1 being imitations of the Servant passages, and lxi. 10 a separate prophecy to be placed at the end as "Zion's Response."

In N.T. lxi. 1 f., "The spirit of the Lord is upon me," etc., is applied to Christ in Luke iv. 18 f.

lxiii. 1–6, Vengeance on Edom.

Parallel to lix. 15 ff., and xxxiv.; probably connects with some catastrophe which befell Edom after the Exile.[2]

lxiii. 7–lxiv., Israel, in deep distress, and acknowledging its sin, recalls Jehovah's former goodness, and appeals to Him to renew His mercy. He is their Father, their Redeemer, before Him they are as clay in the hands of the potter. It is He who has caused them to err, and hardened their hearts. None have called on His name, because He hid His face from them, and delivered them into the power of their guilt.[3] City and Temple are in ruins, will He not relent?

The statement[4] that the holy cities and Zion are a desolation, that the Temple has been burnt, seems to show that these chapters are exilic. The situation implied is similar to that in Lamentations, only there is no mention of a captivity, and the tone is less submissive. It might have been written in Judah towards the close of the Captivity. But lxiii. 18 states that God's people had only possessed the land, or, it may be, Zion, a little while, which would not apply to 586. We know of no later occasion within the possible dates, when the Temple was burnt; but our information is so scanty that such a catastrophe *might* have happened, and left no clear trace in history. Cheyne mentions as suggested occasions of these disasters, the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the period of distress before the coming of Nehemiah, but maintains that this burning must have taken place under Artaxerxes Ochus, *c.* 350. Duhm explains

[1] lxii. 9, 10. [2] Cheyne, 432 ?. [3] lxiii. 16 f. [4] lxiv. 10.

the desolation of city and temple as the abiding result of the sack in 586, the new city and temple being ignored as beneath notice. Even if exilic, the section is so different in spirit from xl.-lv., that they can scarcely be by the same author. In N.T. lxiv. 4 is quoted in i. Corinthians ii. 9.

lxv., Jehovah inaugurates new heavens and a new earth, and a new dispensation in Jerusalem, from which superstitious idolaters (? the Samaritans) shall be excluded, while His servants shall prosper.

Often, but improbably, held to be the answer to lxiii. 7–lxiv. The chapter seems to belong to a time when the opposition of parties within the community passed finally into formal division into distinct bodies. It may very well connect with the final severance under Ezra and Nehemiah of the congregation from the Samaritans and their adherents.[1]

In N.T. lxv. 1 is quoted Romans x. 20 f.

lxvi. 1–5,[2] Another contrast of the true worship with superstition, introduced by the declaration that Jehovah needs no earthly Temple.[3]

Either a warning to the Jews not to attach too much importance to the restored Temple; or a protest against the building of any temple, perhaps a polemic against Haggai and Zechariah; or, much more probably, a protest against an early unrecorded proposal to build a schismatic Samaritan temple, connecting, as 3–5 shows, with the same crisis as lxv., perhaps at a later stage.[4]

In Acts vii. 49 f., lxvi. 1, "What house would ye build," etc., is used by Stephen, defending himself against a charge of saying that Jesus would destroy the temple, to show that the Most High dwelleth not in temples laid with hands. His indignant audience seem to have at once cut short his speech.

lxvi. 6–24, Jerusalem exalted, the nations chastised, those still in exile brought home, and in 23 f., the regular observance of new moons and sabbaths by all mankind, the carcases of sinners burning publicly for ever.

The climax of lxv.-lxvi. 5 and of the same period; 21 f. may be an addition.[5] Verse 24, the germ of the doctrine of Gehenna, the place of the lost, is referred to in Mark ix. 43 f., "If thy hand offend thee," etc.

7. Jeremiah.

(a) *The Prophet.*—There is no doubt of the genuine connection of the bulk of the book with Jeremiah.[6] He belonged

[1] CHEYNE. [2] To which Cheyne adds 17, 18a.

[3] *Cf.* John iv. 24.

[4] CHEYNE, 432?; DUHM; MEYER, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 89.

[5] DUHM, CHEYNE, SKINNER.

[6] For critical questions see (c) *Composition* and (e) *Contents* under the several sections.

to a priestly family at Anathoth, three miles north of Jerusalem, but he exercised his ministry in the capital. He remained unmarried, at the command of Jehovah. In the thirteenth year of Josiah, 626, while still young, he was called to be a prophet.[1] Hence he was born under Manasseh, and grew up under the reaction against Isaiah's teaching. Apparently this reactionary worship had established its claim to represent the ancient faith of Israel, and was generally upheld by the authorities in church and state, for Jeremiah is usually hostile to all authorities, princes, prophets, and priests. His earlier ministry and that of Zephaniah were doubtless among the influences which led to the reforms of Josiah and the establishment of Deuteronomy. From 621 to 608, Jeremiah, most exceptionally, may have been in sympathy with the ruling powers. But Josiah's defeat and death at Megiddo must have seemed the divine repudiation of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The Egyptian party, also that of religious reaction, regained its supremacy at the appointment of Jehoiakim by Necho, and, with brief exceptions, retained it to the close of the monarchy. Throughout this period Jeremiah defied princes, priests, and prophets alike. He did his best to baffle the pro-Egyptian policy of the government, to purify social life and the administration of justice, and to reform religious faith and worship, but with little external success. As his hopes of winning the people dwindled, his threats of punishment hardened into the unqualified prediction of the ruin alike of Temple and city. He was universally unpopular; the people, misapplying Isaiah's teaching, clung to the Temple, as the infallible palladium of the city. When Jeremiah foretold its ruin, he barely escaped with his life. At another time, his opponents replied to his threats by beating him and putting him in the stocks. In Jehoiakim himself, the prophet found an able and determined opponent, but Zedekiah was a helpless tool in the hands of the stronger party. Jeremiah, on the one hand, and the princes of the Egyptian party with their hireling priests and prophets, on the other, struggled

[1] i., xvi. 2.

fiercely for the control of the king. His conscience inclined him to Jeremiah, but his cowardice decided in favour of the princes. As Judah became committed to the hopeless contest with Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah proclaimed the success of the enemy, urged the king to submit, and declared that safety could only be found in deserting to the besiegers. He was imprisoned as a traitor, and was only saved by the tardy interference of the king from being starved to death. Released by the Chaldeans, after the sack of the city, he threw in his lot with the Jews left in Judah, but was carried down by them to Egypt. When we last read of him, he is still engaged in his life-long task of rebuking and threatening his fellow-countrymen. There are conflicting traditions as to his death; Tertullian[1] states that the Jews in Egypt stoned him to death, which seems very probable. According to the Jews he escaped to Babylon and died there.[2]

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Under Manasseh, Judah was subject to Assyria. But, about the time when Jeremiah began his ministry, 628, western Asia was overrun by Scythian hordes. These served the prophet in his early utterances, as the original of the invader from the north, who should be the instrument of Jehovah's chastisement of his people. Assurbanipal, the last great Assyrian king, died in 626. From that date the power of Assyria dwindled rapidly; the Syrian states and Israel had been crushed; so that Judah was for a time the strongest power in Palestine, and Josiah extended his authority over part of Ephraim. Meanwhile Babylon was aggrandising itself at the expense of Assyria, but its claim to supremacy was challenged by Pharaoh-Necho, who marched through Palestine on his way to the Euphrates. Josiah opposed him, and was defeated and slain at Megiddo, 609. Later on Necho deposed Jehoahaz, and made Jehoiakim king. Thus for a time Judah was entirely controlled by the

[1] *Adv. Gnost.*, *c.* 8.

[2] The ascription to Jeremiah of Deuteronomy, Kings, certain Psalms, etc., rests on no good evidence. Jeremiah has often been held to be the original of the picture of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, Isaiah liii.

Egyptian anti-prophetic party. It was probably after Nineveh had been captured, and the Assyrian empire overthrown by the Medes and Babylonians, *c.* 606, that Necho was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish in 605, and thenceforward western Asia lay at the disposal of the conqueror, who soon established his authority in Palestine. Yet the tact of Jehoiakim enabled him to retain his throne and persist in a pro-Egyptian policy, even while professing loyalty to Babylon. He died just in time to escape the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar, but his son and successor, Jehoiachin, and the best of the population were carried away captive. Although his successor, Zedekiah, Jehoiakim's brother, was the nominee of Nebuchadnezzar, he either could not or would not control the party of revolt against Babylon. The disloyalty of Judah provoked a fresh Chaldean invasion and siege of Jerusalem; Pharaoh Hophra advanced to its relief, but retreated; the siege, which had been raised for a time, was resumed, the city taken and sacked, the king with his court and most of the people carried away captive. The attempt to form a new community was frustrated by the murder of Gedaliah, a Jewish prince acting as governor for the Chaldeans; and most of the remaining Jews fled to Egypt. There is evidence that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt, *c.* 568, at the beginning of the reign of Amasis.

(c) *Composition.*—In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah dictated to Baruch all his prophecies against Israel, Judah, and the nations. The roll on which Baruch wrote this record was burnt by the king next year, but Jeremiah dictated its contents afresh to Baruch, who wrote them on a second roll, "and there were added besides unto them many like words."[1] These rolls were the first two editions of our book, which no doubt includes the bulk of their contents. We have thus the testimony of the book itself that the earliest document which can have been used in its composition was written from the prophet's recollection of his utterances, which were largely supplemented at the time of

[1] xxxvi.

writing. Utterances of an earlier date are thus extant in the form they assumed in the fifth year of Jehoiakim. The book referred to in xxx. 1 may have been written as an appendix to Baruch's roll, possibly also by Baruch.[1] We can only determine the contents of Baruch's roll by ascertaining the dates of the several prophecies, which cannot always be done with confidence. Portions, of course, may have been omitted in process of editing.

But our book is not a collection of Jeremiah's prophecies, but a rough equivalent of what we should call "The Life, Times, and Works of Jeremiah." It is nowhere stated that the narratives it contains were written by Jeremiah, nor, for the most part, is there anything to suggest that they were. On the other hand, they are evidently, in the main, the work of a well-informed contemporary, very probably the prophet's secretary, Baruch. In adding these narratives to his roll, he probably also added Jeremiah's later prophecies, partly from the prophet's notes, partly from his own reminiscences. The dependence on the Book of Kings in its final form, and the probable presence of post-exilic material, show that our book did not take its present shape till after the Exile. The imperfect chronological arrangement shows that the editors did not allow the contents of Baruch's roll to remain together in their original form. *Cf.* Appendix D.

(d) *Hebrew and Greek Editions.*—The LXX. differs very widely from the Hebrew Text. There are numerous variations, transpositions, omissions, and additions. It is commonly stated that there are about 2700 words contained in the Hebrew and not in the LXX. The most important omissions are: x. 6–8, Unique Supremacy of Jehovah; xxxiii. 14–26, The Branch, and the Covenant with the Levites and David; xxxix. 4–13, Fall of Jerusalem; xlviii. 45 f., On Heshbon, in Oracle on Moab; lii. 28–30, Statistics as to captives.

The Utterances on the Nations are inserted in the middle, after xxv. 13, as in Isaiah and Ezekiel, instead of almost at

[1] This verse is rejected by Giesebrecht, but accepted by Rothstein (Kautzsch) and Cornill.

the end, chh. 46–49. They are also arranged in the order, Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistines, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, Moab; instead of the order of the Hebrew Text, Egypt, Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Babylon. In minor variations the correct text is to be found sometimes in the one edition, sometimes in the other; but the longer passages absent from the LXX. are probably editorial additions in the Hebrew Text. They do not show that such editorial expansion continued after the LXX. was translated, but only that when that translation was made, at least two very different editions of the book were still current.

(e) *Contents.*

I.–VI., Originally Composed in the Earlier Part of Josiah's Reign, *c.* 628–621.

i., Thirteenth Year of Josiah, 628. Jeremiah's Call to the prophetic office, to which God appointed him before his birth. His mission "to pluck up, break down, destroy, and overthrow; to build and plant." Visions of Almond Tree, suggesting by paronomasia God's watchfulness; and of Seething Caldron symbolising a Northern Invader. The prophet will be in opposition to kings, princes, and priests, and will not be crushed by them.

ii., Jerusalem and Israel, once devoted to Jehovah, have ungratefully deserted Him, being less faithful than the Gentiles to their false gods. They have intrigued with Egypt and Assyria. All classes, kings, princes, priests, prophets, and people, are guilty.

iii. 1–5, Idolatry and foreign intrigues punished by drought; will not the people repent? *Cf.* iii. 19 ff.

iii. 6–18, Time of Josiah. Judah did not take warning by the fate of Israel, but surpassed her in wickedness. Invitation to Israel to repent. Lost ark not to be replaced, verse 16. Promise of reconciliation of Judah and Israel at Jerusalem, whither all nations will gather to worship Jehovah, 17 f.

Interrupts the connection between verses 5 and 19. Giesebrecht connects 6–13 with 19–iv. 2; 14–18 being a later insertion, 14–16 from

some other prophecy of Jeremiah. Verses 17 f. late gloss, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Cheyne;[1] Smend[2] rejects 16–18, and understands iii. as predicting the final ruin of Judah, and the restoration of Israel.

iii. 19–iv. 2, Penitent Israel shall be accepted by Jehovah.

iv. 3–vi. 30, Description, interspersed with appeals to the Jews to repent, of a terrible invasion by a northern people, as a punishment of the guilt of all classes, in spite of their assiduous sacrifices to Jehovah.

Referring originally to the Scythian inroads *c.* 628, but perhaps adapted to the Babylonians when the earlier prophecies were rewritten in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, xxxvi. 32.

VII.–X., The Beginning of Jehoiakim's Reign, 608.

No danger seems imminent; which suits the situation after the submission to Pharaoh Necho, and before his defeat at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. *Cf.* also vii. and xxvi.

vii. 1–28, Jeremiah is commanded to stand at the gate of the Temple, and appeal to the people to repent. Unless they reform social wrongs and forsake the superstitious worship of the Queen of Heaven and "other gods," neither the sanctity of the Temple nor their many sacrifices to Jehovah will protect them. The Temple at Jerusalem will perish as did that at Shiloh. "But they will not hearken unto thee."

vii. 29–viii. 3, Because the Jews have sacrified children in the Valley of the son of Hinnom, the land shall be laid waste, the valley choked with corpses on which the birds and beasts shall feed; the bones of the dead shall be exposed before the sun, moon, and stars, which they worshipped, and the living shall long for death. *Cf.* xix. 3–19.

viii. 4–ix. 22,[3] Lamentation over Judah, its obstinate sin and sure punishment, by failure of crops, by invasion, the ruin of the cities,[4] the death or captivity of the people.

ix. 23–26;[5] 23 f. is a proverbial maxim; man should glory not in strength or riches, but in God's goodness and righteousness. 25 f. threaten Egypt, Judah, and their neighbours with punishment, because they are uncircumcised in heart.

[1] *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 11. [2] *A. T. Theol.*, 237. [3] Heb. 21.
[4] viii. 13, 16, ix. 11, 16, 21, 22. [5] Heb. 22–25.

23–26 interrupt the connection between 22 and x. 17, and were rejected by Kuenen,[1] but are probably genuine, but misplaced.[2]

x. 1–16, The contrast between Jehovah, the one true God, Creator and Ruler of the Universe, and the idols of the Gentiles.

Interrupts the connection between 22 and x. 17; parallel to and probably dependent on Isaiah xl. 19–22, etc., often regarded as exilic or post-exilic.[3] Verse 11 is in Aramaic, and is probably a later gloss.

x. 17–25, Conclusion of viii. 4–ix. 22.

Verse 25, which implies that Judah is already desolate, may have been added by Jeremiah later.[4]

XI.–XX., ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN JEHOIAKIM'S REIGN.[5]

xi. 1–17, The prophet recalls his zeal for God's covenant with Israel—probably Deuteronomy[6]—denounces the failure of the people to observe it, and threatens them with punishment.

xi. 18–xii. 6, Jeremiah's priestly kinsmen at Anathoth to be punished because they persecuted him.

xii. 7–17, Judah raided by her neighbours (7–13), who will be punished with exile, but restored if they adopt the religion of Israel (14–17).

Often connected with the raids of the "bands" of Chaldæans, Syrians, Ammonites, and Moabites, about the ninth year of Jehoiakim, *c.* 600.[7] Jeremiah's authorship of 14–17 has been challenged.[8] For the restoration of Moab and Ammon, *cf.* xlviii. 47, xlix. 6; also xlix. 39 (Elam).

xiii. 1–11, The ruin of Judah symbolised by a girdle spoilt by being buried near the Euphrates.

xiii. 12–17, All classes of the people shall be filled with the wrath of God, like a bottle with wine.

xiii. 18, 19, Lament over the king, the queen-mother, and the desolate land.

Probably referring to the captivity of Jehoiachin, a youth of eighteen, whose mother, Nehushta, is mentioned ii. Kings xxiv. 8, 12.

xiii. 20–27, The ingrained sin of Jerusalem—"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"—punished by shame and ruin.

[1] Ap. GIESEBRECHT, i. 1. [2] GIESEBRECHT, CORNILL.

[3] GIESEBRECHT, CORNILL, ROTHSTEIN, (Kautzsch), who also regard 11 as a still later addition. CHEYNE, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 333.

[4] CORNILL, gloss. [5] For the most part. [6] ii. Kings xxiii. 3.

[7] ii. Kings xxiv. 2. [8] STADE, ap. GIESEBRECHT.

xiv. 1–xvii. 18, On the occasion of a drought, Jeremiah announces that the people will be consumed by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence; the rest will go into captivity. Appeals for mercy are repeated and rejected, "Though Moses and Samuel stood before Me, yet My mind could not be towards this people." Prophets who contradict Jeremiah shall be punished. Jeremiah complains of his unwelcome message and the ill-will it excites, and is repeatedly encouraged. He must not marry or take part in any festivity.

Verses xv. 11–14, xvi. 14–16, interrupt the context, xv. 13 f. being borrowed from xvii. 3 f., and xvi. 14 f. from xxiii. 7 f. Similarly xvi. 18-21 is wholly or partly a misplaced fragment, and xvii. 11–13, at any rate, out of place.[1]

xvii. 19–27, The observance of the Sabbath, the condition of national salvation.

The parallels to Nehemiah xiii. 15 ff., the interest in the Sabbath, and in sacrifices are unusual in Jeremiah.[2] The style, however, is either Jeremiah's or modelled on xxii. 1 ff.,[3] *cf.* too Ezekiel xx. 21, 24.

xviii.–xx., The Potter a type of the Divine Sovereignty. God's threats or promises conditional on perseverance in sin or righteousness. The doom of Israel. Plots against Jeremiah. He prays for the punishment of his persecutors. The breaking of a potter's earthern vessel, which cannot be mended, a symbol of the irrevocable ruin of Judah.[4] Jeremiah addresses the people at the Temple, and is beaten and put in the stocks by Pashhur, whose punishment will be, that he and all the Jews who survive the sack of Jerusalem will be carried to Babylon. Jeremiah again prays for the punishment of his persecutors, and curses the day of his birth.

Cf. Job iii. 1–10 with which xx. 14–18 will have some literary connection, probably Job is dependent on Jeremiah. Stade and Dillmann[5] regard xx. 14 ff. as a later addition. Davidson, however, seems to consider xx. 14 ff. independent of Job, and therefore the original.

[1] GIESEBRECHT.

[2] ROTHSTEIN (Kautzsch), CORNILL, GIESEBRECHT, KAYSER-MARTI, p. 157, CHEYNE, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 312, "post-exilic."

[3] GIESEBRECHT, "Gut jeremianisch ist, doch ist es möglich, dies mit Kuenen aus absichtlicher Imitation zu erklären"; DRIVER, p. 242, "The style is thoroughly that of Jeremiah."

[4] xix. 3-9, 11b-13, which are largely based on vii. 32–viii. 4, ii. Kings xxi. 16, xxii. 10–13, are held by Giesebrecht to be a later insertion.

[5] Ap. KÖNIG.

XXI.–XXIX., Passages of Various Dates.

xxi. 1–10, During the last siege, 588, Zedekiah sends to ask concerning the fate of the city, Jeremiah replies that the city will be taken, sacked, and burnt, and that the only way of escape is desertion to the Chaldeans.

xxi. 11–xxii. 9, Appeal to the court, "the house of the king of Judah" to rule justly as the condition of national salvation.[1]

This passage and the sections to xxiii. 8 are commonly considered a collection of prophecies uttered originally at different times, and combined soon after the captivity of Jehoiachin, *c.* 597.

xxii. 10–30, Judgments on Shallum (Jehoahaz), Jehoiakim, and Coniah (Jehoiachin), *c.* 597.

xxiii., Denunciation of shepherds, *i.e.*, princes, priests, and especially prophets, including a promise of good shepherds, 4, and of the righteous Branch (çemaḥ) of David, under whom Judah and Israel shall be restored 5–8, *cf.* xxxiii. 14–16.

Probably under Jehoiakim.

xxiv., Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) and his fellow captives symbolised by a basket of good figs, but the Jews left in Judah by a basket of bad figs.

Early in Zedekiah's reign.

xxv., Fourth year of Jehoiakim, First of Nebuchadrezzar, 605. The Jews are to be subdued, and their land laid waste by "my Servant Nebuchadrezzar" and the Chaldæans, because they refused to listen to the appeals of the prophets. They shall serve Babylon seventy years, then shall Babylon be punished, 11–14. All nations shall drink the cup of God's wrath. Last of all Sheshach (*i.e.*, Babylon) shall drink, 26b.

26b is probably a later gloss.[2] Giesebrecht, also, considers 11–14, 30–38 later additions, verse 13b is clearly a gloss.

xxvi., "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim," Jeremiah threatens that the Temple, like that at Shiloh, will be destroyed, is accused of blasphemy, but rescued by his friends among the princes. *Cf.* vii.–x.

xxvii.–xxix., Jeremiah's Controversy with the Prophets. The prophets, especially Hananiah, encouraged rebellion against Babylon, and contradicted Jeremiah's threats. Death

[1] *Cf.* xvii. 19 ff. [2] Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, etc.

of Hananiah. Jeremiah and the prophets in exile, who supported Hananiah, denounce each other by letter.

xxvii. 3, 4, xxviii. 1 show that this controversy took place in the earlier years of Zedekiah's reign, and that Zedekiah should be read for Jehoiakim in xxvii. 1.

XXX–XXXIII., PROPHECIES OF RESTORATION.

These are combined with a narrative referring to events "in the tenth year of Zedekiah," 588, during the last siege[1]; xxxiii. is expressly dated in this period, to which xxx., xxxi. may also be assigned. The narrative and the compilation of the section will be the work of the editor. The Jeremianic origin of the prophecies in these chapters has been contested. According to Smend,[2] xxx. f. presuppose the post-exilic historical situation, and are dependent on II. Isaiah, *e.g.*, "Jacob, my servant."[3] Giesebrecht ascribes comparatively little to Jeremiah.[4] Doubtless editorial additions[5] have given a post-exilic or exilic colouring to these chapters, otherwise they are substantially Jeremiah's.[6]

xxx., When calamity has shown that foreign alliances and all human help are useless, Jehovah Himself will deliver His people, bring them back to their own land, and set over them "David, their king," *i.e.*, a prince of the House of David.

Verses 10 f., apparently dependent on II. Isaiah,[7] or *vice versa*, are rejected by Cornill, also 22–24. Verses 23 f., at least, are out of place.

xxxi., Ephraim and Judah shall be reconciled at Zion, and share the renewed mercy of Jehovah. God will make a new covenant with them, whereby each will be directly taught of Him, and there will be no need of human teachers.

Two passages are often held to be later additions; 35–37, Israel shall abide while sun and moon endure, in which 35 is in the style of II. Isaiah, *cf.* Isaiah li. 15[8]; and 38–40, the future dimensions of Jerusalem, which is certainly out of place here.[9]

xxxii. (narrative, 6–25 in first person), During the last siege, Jeremiah buys a field at Anathoth, as a sign that the Jews will return from exile to occupy their old inheritance.

[1] xxxii. 1. [2] *A. T. Theol.*, pp. 239 ff. [3] xxx. 10.

[4] Only xxxii. 6–17a, 24–44 are actually Jeremiah's, while xxxi. 2–6, 15–20, 27–34, xxxiii. 1, 4–13 are the reminiscences of Baruch; the rest is due to later editors. [5] See below.

[6] DRIVER (apparently), CORNILL, KÖNIG, KAYSER-MARTI, 115, ROTHSTEIN (Kautzsch).

[7] *Cf.* Isaiah xli. 13, xliii. 5, xliv. 2.

[8] CORNILL, GIESEBRECHT.

[9] ROTHSTEIN (Kautzsch), GIESEBRECHT.

Verses 17–23, the somewhat abstract introduction to Jeremiah's prayer, may be a later addition.[1]

xxxiii. 1–16, Renewed promises of restoration, and of the Branch (çemaḥ) of David.

The form of this section seems affected by the actual experiences of the Captivity, especially in 11–14. Verses 14–16 are chiefly a repetition of xxiii. 5 f., but here it is Jerusalem and not the Branch which is named "Jehovah our Righteousness."

xxxiii., 17–26, The House of David and the Levites shall remain and flourish, as long as day and night endure.

This section is not in the LXX., and the keen interest in the Levites has no parallel elsewhere in the book; hence the verses are probably an addition.[2]

XXXIV., XXXV., Utterances on Specified Occasions.

xxxiv., During the Last Siege, Zedekiah, after the Fall of the City, will be taken to Babylon, but his life will be spared, 1–7. The nobles to be punished, because when the siege was raised for a time, they re-enslaved the Jews whom they had emancipated.

xxxv., "In the days of Jehoiakim." The Jews put to shame by the loyalty of the Rechabites to their tribal customs.

About 597, the Rechabites being probably driven into the city by the troubles at the end of Jehoiakim's reign.

XXXVI.–XLV., A History of Jeremiah.

xxxvi., Fourth Year of Jehoiakim, 605. One roll of Jeremiah's prophecies burnt by the king, and another written.

xxxvii.–xxxix., Jeremiah, arrested as a deserter, during the temporary raising of the last siege, is beaten and imprisoned. He persists in urging the king to submit, and the people to desert, is thrown into a muddy oubliette, but released by Ebed-melech, repeats his prophecies to the king, and is kept in prison till the sack of the city, when he is released by the express orders of Nebuchadrezzar. Ebed-melech is promised his life.

Verses xxxix. 1, 2 are taken from ii. Kings xxv. 1–4 (Jeremiah lii. 4–7); and 4–13 from ii. Kings xxv. 4–12 (Jeremiah lii. 7–16); 4–13 are not in the LXX., and are probably a later addition.

[1] Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, Giesebrecht.

[2] Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, Giesebrecht; and, Driver, p. 247, "the majority of recent critics."

xl.–xliv., Jeremiah is released from among the captives, and joins Gedaliah, the new governor of Judah. Gedaliah is murdered by Ishmael. Jeremiah is rescued from Ishmael by Johanan, and carried, against his will, into Egypt, where he denounces the worship of the Queen of Heaven by the exiles, and foretells the ruin of Egypt and the refugees.

xlv., "Fourth Year of Jehoiakim," Baruch is promised that his life shall be spared.

XLVI.–LI., PROPHECIES AGAINST FOREIGN NATIONS.

The prospect of a Chaldæan invasion after the Battle of Carchemish, 605, probably furnished Jeremiah with an occasion for dealing with foreign nations.

Smend[1] and Kayser-Marti[2] deny the Jeremianic authorship of this section. Smend considers that the prophet who was so preoccupied with the sin and doom of Judah could not have exulted in a national Judaistic spirit over the ruin of foreign nations. Some use, however, may have been made of Jeremianic material. Giesebrecht, however, holds that Jeremiah delivered a series of utterances on foreign nations; assigns xlvii., xlix. 7–11 to Baruch's reminiscences; and thinks that xlvi. 2–12, Egypt, rests on a Jeremianic basis; elsewhere anything of Jeremiah's is editorially disguised beyond recognition.

xlvi., Egypt, On the eve of the Battle of Carchemish, 605, Pharaoh Necho's defeat is foretold, 1–12; and, after the defeat, the conquest of Egypt, and its ultimate restoration, 13–26.

Verses 27 f. = xxx. 10 f. are an insertion.

xlvii., The Philistines spoiled by the Chaldæans.

According to 1 "before Pharaoh smote Gaza," which, however, LXX. omits. Probably 605.

xlviii., Moab and its cities are doomed.

Parallel to Isaiah xv., xvi., *q.v.*

xlix. 1–6, Ammon, its captivity and restoration.

xlix. 7–22, Edom, its mountain strongholds to be sacked by the nations.

xlix. 23–27, Fall of Damascus.

A mosaic, 23b = Isaiah lvii. 20; 24b = Isaiah xiii. 8; 25 = Isaiah xxii. 1 f.; 26 = l. 30; 27 = Amos i. 14. We know nothing that suggests that Damascus was within the range of Jeremiah's political interests. The section is, however, accepted by Cornill.

xlix. 28–33, Kedar and Hazor, Nomad tribes of Arabia.

[1] *A. T. Theol.*, pp. 238 f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

xlix. 34–39, Elam, its doom and restoration.

Verse 34, not in LXX., assigns this passage to the beginning of Zedekiah's reign.

l., li., Babylon, A prophecy or series of prophecies, exulting over the miserable ruin of Babylon, as a punishment for her ill-treatment of the Jews. The Jewish exiles are urged to flee from the doomed city. A note, li. 59–64, is added, stating that Jeremiah wrote the doom of Babylon in a book, and gave it to Seraiah, Zedekiah's chamberlain, to take to Babylon, read it there, tie a stone to it, and throw it into the Euphrates. This book is probably intended to be identified with l., li. Chapter li. ends: "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah."

These chapters are generally regarded as exilic, with post-exilic additions. The historical situation is that of the Exile. The Jews are in Chaldea,[1] the Temple and Jerusalem in ruins,[2] Babylon is menaced by a confederation of nations, led by the Medes.[3] The religious situation, too, is not that of Jeremiah. *He* is overwhelmed with the sense of Judah's sin and its punishment by Nebuchadrezzar, the Servant of Jehovah. *Here*, the situation is that of II. Isaiah; Judah's sin is forgotten, Judah's suffering, and the sin and chastisement of Babylon for destroying Jerusalem occupy the writer's mind.[4] Much of the section is borrowed from the rest of the book and from other literature, after the manner of other secondary passages in Jeremiah.[5] Except for such borrowing, the style is not that of Jeremiah.

LII., Historical Appendix.

An account of the Fall of Jerusalem, and the release of Jehoiachin from prison.

Verses 1–27, 31–34=ii. Kings xxiv. 18–xxv. 21, xxv. 27–30, from which they are taken. Verses 28–30 are absent from the LXX.

(f) *Teaching.*—Jeremiah repeats the protests of his predecessors against social wrong,[6] superstitious and idolatrous[7] worship, at the high places[8] and elsewhere, and the combination of external devotion to Jehovah with a selfish, immoral life;[9] and, like them, he announces the ruin and restoration of Judah and Israel, and the ultimate universalism

[1] l. 8, 33, li. 6, 45.
[2] l. 28, li. 11, 50 f.
[3] l. 9, 41–43, li. 11, 27 f.
[4] l. 20, li. 10, 33–44.
[5] l. 40–46=xlix. 18, vi. 22–24, xlix. 19–21; li. 15–19=x. 12–16; *cf.* l. 39 with Isaiah xiii. 21 f.
[6] xxii. 3, vii. 5–7.
[7] ii. 20, 27, iii. 13.
[8] xvii. 2.
[9] vi. 20, vii. 21 ff.

of true religion.[1] The exact relation of Jeremiah to Deuteronomy v.–xxvi. is a difficult problem. Its ordinances seek to realise Jeremiah's ideals, and his teaching must have favoured its acceptance and subsequent observance; indeed, in xi.[2] he appears as its champion. The release of Jewish slaves brought about by Jeremiah during the last siege was in accordance with a law borrowed by Deuteronomy from the older codes.[3] But Jeremiah's later teaching goes beyond Deuteronomy. Indeed the prestige which Josiah's reforms gave to the Temple as the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah helped the people to harden their hearts against the prophet's teaching. The people appealed against him to a written law, "We are wise, and the law of Jehovah is with us," but he replied, "The false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely."[4] We need not suppose that Jeremiah refers to Deuteronomy;[5] but it is clear that the written law had assumed a form against which the prophet was compelled to protest, and that editors were already busy expanding and interpreting its contents. His experience of the uselessness of any written law as the basis of the covenant between Jehovah and Israel led him to the great utterance, xxxi. 31–37, which is one of those in which O.T. Revelation most nearly anticipates the Gospel of Christ, and according to which God's covenant with His people does not rest on written law, on a prophetic order or a priesthood, but on the spiritual fellowship of the believer with God. The same truth is illustrated by Jeremiah's isolation. In him the antagonism of the inspired prophets to the prophetic order and the priesthood reached its climax. He is, after Christ Himself, the great example that Divine Revelation often comes as a protest against the traditional teaching of constituted authorities.

In dealing with eclecticism, too, Jeremiah follows in the footsteps of his predecessors, but the issue is more clearly

[1] iii. 17 ff. [2] *Cf.* Contents i. 1.
[3] *Cf.* xxxiv. 13, 14 with Exodus xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12.
[4] viii. 8. [5] WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel*, 403 n.

stated. The people worshipped the heavenly bodies, and other deities, yet they could say "I am not defiled, I have not gone after the Baalim," and saw no reason why they should not appeal to Jehovah for help in time of trouble.[1] By his demonstration of the folly and sin of asssociating "other gods" with Jehovah, Jeremiah prepared the way for the explicit statement of monotheism.

Moreover, Jeremiah stands out as a great example of personal religion, in his unflinching proclamation of an unpopular message, in his sympathy and intercessions for his people, in his earnest pleading with God, and in his submission to the Divine will.

(g) *Use in N.T.*—Our Lord's phrase, "den of thieves," Matthew xxi. 13, etc., is from vii. 11; "Rachel weeping for her children," Matthew ii. 18, from xxxi. 15; the great passage on the New Covenant, xxxi. 31–37, is applied to Christianity in Hebrews viii. 8–12, x. 16 f., Romans xi. 27, and probably suggested the phrase "new covenant" in the words of institution of the Lord's Supper. *Cf.* also ix. 24 and i. Corinthians i. 31, ii. Corinthians x. 17. There are also numerous parallels in the Apocalypse.

8. **Lamentations.**

(a) *Title, Date, and Authorship.*—In the Hebrew text, the heading is simply *'Êkhâ*, the opening word of the book; in the LXX., *Threnoi* or *Threnoi Hieremiou*, and in the Vulg. *Threni*, hence our *Lamentations.* The LXX. and Vulg. represent the Hebrew *Qînôth* = "Lamentations," by which name the book is referred to in the Talmud, etc.

In ii. Chronicles xxxv. 25 we read that "Jeremiah composed a lamentation for Josiah, which was uttered by all the male and female singers in their lamentations (*qînôth*) over Josiah unto this day, and it became a custom in Israel, and behold they (*i.e.*, the lamentations of the singers, including that of Jeremiah) are written in (the Book of) Lamentations" (*'al haq-qînôth*).[2] This passage evidently refers to Lamenta-

[1] ii. 23, 27. [2] Substantially as KAUTZSCH; *cf.* R.V.

tions; it has been held to claim the whole book for Jeremiah, but, if the rendering given above is correct, it merely states that the book includes a lamentation by Jeremiah.

In the Hebrew Canon, Lamentations is one of the Five Rolls, *Megillôth*, and is included in the Hagiographa, but the LXX. places it after Jeremiah, and prefixes a statement that "After Israel was carried away captive, and Jerusalem laid waste, Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented this lamentation over Jerusalem." The Old Latin, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, the Targum and the Talmud follow Chronicles and the LXX. in ascribing the book to Jeremiah. The contents show clearly that Chronicles is wrong in describing the book as a lamentation over Josiah; it is, as the LXX. perceives, a lamentation over the Fall of Jerusalem in 586. Yet we have the joint testimony of Chronicles and the LXX. to the authorship of the whole or part of the book by Jeremiah.

But, though there are parallels to the style and teaching of Jeremiah, and various passages seem to have been written by an eye-witness, a comparison of the book with Jeremiah's prophecies suggests that the tradition of his authorship is an unsound conjecture. He was a prisoner during the sack of the city, and after his release he actively co-operated in the attempt to reorganise the Jewish community. Jeremiah, who had a very poor opinion of Zedekiah, would hardly have spoken of him as "The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Jehovah . . . of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations."[1] We miss, too, any adequate parallel to Jeremiah's emphatic and repeated assertion that the ruin of Judah was the punishment of the sin of *all* classes of the community. Jeremiah included priests and prophets in his denunciation, but he would scarcely have laid the whole responsibility upon them.[2]

But as each of the five chapters is a separate poem, it is still possible that one or more of them may be the work of

[1] iv. 20.

[2] "It is because of the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests," iv. 13.

Jeremiah. The vivid descriptions of the sack of Jerusalem in ii. and iv. show that these chapters were written soon after the event by an eye-witness. Similar characteristics suggest a like origin for v.; but the fact that v. is the only one of the four poems, not an acrostic, points to a different author; unless, indeed, the author had collected twenty-two suitable sentiments, but never found opportunity to shape them into an acrostic. The different character of the acrostics in i. and iii.[1] may point to a different authorship. Moreover i. and iii. are said to be dependent on ii. and iv., and other exilic literature, and therefore to be later. Though they seem to imply an exilic date, they are often regarded as post-exilic.

(b) *Qinah Metre.*—This book furnishes the most striking example of the Hebrew elegiac or *Qinah* metre, according to which each of the two or more parallel members is divided into two unequal parts, the former being the longer. This arrangement gives the lines a sort of "dying fall" suited to a melancholy subject, *e.g.*:

I. 4b	All her gates are desolate,	7	Hebrew Syllables.	
	—her priests sigh;	6		
c	Her virgins are afflicted,	6		
	—bitter is she.	3		

Chapters i.–iv. of this book are written in this metre. The English translation can only partially represent this peculiarity, and it is not strictly adhered to in the Hebrew, possibly in some measure through later modifications of the text. A good illustration of the metre may be seen in Dr. Skinner's translation[2] of Ezekiel xix. 2–9.

(c) *Contents.*—i., The miserable condition of Jerusalem.

An alphabetic acrostic, following the usual order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. A single verse is given to each letter, and each verse contains *three* lines of *Qinah* metre, the first of which begins with the characteristic letter.

ii., The ruin and sack of Jerusalem.

An acrostic, exactly resembling i., except that it has the order *Pe*, *'Ayin*, instead of the usual order *'Ayin*, *Pe*.

iii., The community, speaking mostly in the first person

[1] See Contents. [2] *Ezekiel*, p. 109.

singular "I," meditates on its sin and suffering, and on its hopes of deliverance from God.

An acrostic, exactly resembling ii., except that *each* of the three Qinah lines allotted to each letter begins with that letter, and each line is reckoned as a separate verse ; *cf.* Psalm cxix.

iv., The sack of Jerusalem, concluding with the doom of Edom, and the assurance that Zion's punishment is ended.

An alphabetic acrostic, resembling ii. and iii. in having the unusual order *Pe*, *'Ayin*. A single verse is given to each letter, and each verse contains *two* lines of *Qinah* metre, the first of which begins with the characteristic letter.

v., The miserable condition of Jerusalem and the Jews.

The poem contains 22 verses, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet ; but it is not an acrostic. Neither is it in the *Qinah* metre ; but consists of couplets in synonymous parallelism.[1]

The book is not used in the N.T.

9. **Ezekiel.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The ascription of this book to Ezekiel is generally accepted,[2] and there is no serious doubt as to the authorship of any considerable passage.[3] The ministry of Ezekiel falls between 592 and 570, and the book must have been compiled towards its close. Our knowledge of Ezekiel is derived from the book itself; he is not mentioned elsewhere in O.T.

Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, was a priest who was carried captive with Jehoiachin,[4] 597 ; five years later he was called to be a prophet. This fact, together with the authority with which he speaks and the deference shown him, suggests that he was no longer in his first youth, and this view is confirmed by his familiarity with priestly ritual, probably acquired as an officiating priest at the Temple. During his last ten years at Jerusalem, Jehoiakim was supporting the reaction from the Deuteronomic legislation, and the revival of earlier customs, in the teeth of strenuous and persistent opposition from

[1] See Psalms.

[2] The attempts of Geiger, Seinecke, Zunz, etc. to assign the book to the post-exilic period have met with no success, and need not be considered.

[3] The most important later addition is xxvii. 9b–25a. See Contents.

[4] i. 1–3.

Jeremiah. Our book shows a large acquaintance and sympathy with the teaching of Jeremiah; probably in these last years at Jerusalem, Ezekiel was a disciple of the older prophet.

In Babylonia he was settled in a colony of exiles at Tel Abib, by the river Chebar.[1] Both place and river are unknown. His ministry began in 592; in his account of it, it is often difficult to distinguish narratives of real events from descriptions of symbolic figures; but the following facts seem fairly certain. The Jewish exiles at Tel Abib formed a community by themselves, enjoying a kind of municipal self-government, with elders of their own. The prophet, with his wife, lived in his own house; his prophetic status was recognised, and the elders used to come to his house to consult him.[2] Like Jeremiah, he had a more favourable opinion of the Jews in captivity than of those left in Judah.[3] Yet he also resembled Jeremiah in his opposition to the general social and religious feeling of the community amongst whom he ministered, so that he occupied a position of isolation and antagonism towards his hearers similar to that of the older prophet at Jerusalem. So, too, the message of Ezekiel's earlier ministry, 592–586, was the same as Jeremiah's, the punishment of the sin of Judah by the overthrow of the state and the captivity of the people. Towards the close of this period Ezekiel's wife died.[4] There is no mention of any children. The prophet's bereavement happened about the beginning of the last siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and marked the close of his earlier public ministry. During this period, prophecies are dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth years of the captivity of Jehoiachin. But he seems[5] not to have spoken in public from the commencement of the siege in the ninth year, till the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached him at the close of the eleventh year.[6] Prophecies concerning Egypt were written during the interval.[7]

[1] iii. 15. [2] viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1. [3] xxxiii. 23–29.
[4] xxiv. 16–18. [5] *Cf.* xxiv. 27 and xxxiii. 22.
[6] *Cf.* Contents for date. [7] xxix. 1, xxx. 20, xxxi. 1.

The fall of Jerusalem fulfilled the earlier predictions of Ezekiel, and, no doubt, as in the case of Jeremiah, led to a fuller recognition of his prophetic authority. He resumed his ministry with a new and happier message—the coming restoration of the Jews. According to the dates given, this period of his work was short, and was succeeded by a long interval of silence; there is no date between the twelfth and the twenty-fifth year.[1] During this interval his faith in the coming restoration had grown so strong, that, at its close, for the benefit of the Jews after they should have returned to the Holy Land, he composed specifications for a new Temple, directions for its services, and a constitution for the state.

Probably he himself collected and arranged his prophecies in their present form not long afterwards.

We gather from xxxiii. 30–33 that Ezekiel's preaching was popular, but ineffective; thus, verse 32, "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice . . . for they hear thy words, but do them not." Yet they grew tired of his elaborate symbols, "Ah, Lord Jehovah! they say of me, Is he not a speaker of parables?"[2]

The references to the prophet's lying on his side for 390 days have led to the suggestion that he was subject to some form of catalepsy, as a divinely appointed means of inspiration, but this and most of the other symbolic actions are purely figurative descriptions.[3]

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—See Jeremiah, with whom Ezekiel was contemporary. No change in the general political situation took place in the interval between the Fall of Jerusalem and the close of Ezekiel's ministry.

(c) *Contents.*

I.–XXIV., Sin of Judah and its Punishment.

i.–iii. 21 (Fifth Year,[4] fourth month, July 592), The prophet's call. Theophany, a living chariot, a confusion of

[1] xxxii. 17 and xl. 1. [2] xx. 49.

[3] The theory of catalepsy was suggested by Klostermann; against it see Skinner's *Ezekiel*, p. 55. [4] From Jehoiachin's captivity.

living creatures, wheels, hands, wings, faces, and eyes; above them a firmament, above that a vision of a great sapphire, that seemed like a throne, and upon the throne there seemed to be the vision of a man. Ezekiel is sent to rebellious Israel, swallows the roll of a book, is to be a watchman to warn each individual.

iii. 22–27, Second appearance of the Glory of Jehovah, renewed commission.

iv. 1–3, Siege of Jerusalem symbolised by a drawing on a tile, and by an iron pan.

iv. 4–17, Length and distress of siege symbolised by time spent (figuratively) by the prophet without moving, and by repulsive food eaten (figuratively) by him.

v., Burning of Jerusalem, massacre of part of population, and grievous captivity of the rest symbolised by burning, smiting with a sword, and blowing away of hairs.

vi., vii., Ruin of the people and the land, especially of the mountains, which were the scenes of idolatry.

viii. (Sixth year, sixth[1] month, September, 591), Vision of idolatrous worship in the Temple, the "Image of Jealousy," Animal Worship, Weeping for Tammuz, Sun Worship.

ix.–xii., Destruction of Jerusalem. A man clothed in linen, with a writer's inkhorn, sets a mark on the forehead of the saints, and sends destroying angels to slay the rest. The glory of Jehovah, with its chariot of Cherubim, as in i., appears in the Temple; fire from it is scattered over the city. The glory of Jehovah departs from the Temple and the city by the eastern gate.

Punishment of unjust rulers.

Restoration and purification of the Jews already in exile.

The captivity symbolised by the prophet's removal with his goods, by his taking food with quaking.

Assurance that these threats will be speedily fulfilled.

xiii., Denunciation of prophets and prophetesses, who, uncommissioned by Jehovah, claim to speak in His name, saying "Peace, where there is no peace," contradicting Ezekiel's

[1] LXX. (followed by many), 5th, August.

threats, and supporting the people with false hopes, as they might daub a wall with untempered mortar.

xiv. 1–11, Rebuke of those who consult the prophet, while they "take idols unto their heart."

xiv. 12–23, A guilty land should not be saved because Noah, Daniel, and Job dwelt within it; much less Jerusalem, where only the dregs of the people are left.

xv., Jerusalem, always a worthless vine, now half burnt, is to be burnt altogether.

xvi., Jerusalem's persistent sin and certain doom described under the figure of a foundling, taken to wife by Jehovah; she proved faithless and was punished.

xvii., Zedekiah, the vine grown from a shoot of a cedar, the Davidic dynasty, planted by an eagle, Nebuchadnezzar, is to be carried captive, because he broke his oath of allegiance to Babylon, and revolted to another eagle, the king of Egypt. But Jehovah will plant another shoot of the cedar, which will itself become a great cedar.

xviii., The Doctrine of Retribution. No one will suffer for the sins of his father, but will be punished for his own sins. The penitent sinner shall live, the backsliding saint shall die.

xix., Dirge for Judah and her princes, Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin, under of the figures of a lioness and her whelps, and a vine and its branches.

xx. 1–44 (Seventh year, fifth month, tenth day, August, 590), In Egypt, in the Wilderness, in the Holy Land, Jehovah spared Israel in spite of its utter wickedness, "for His Name's sake, that It should not be profaned in the sight of the nations." For the same reason, though the Jews are still given over to sin, He will chasten, purify, and restore them.

xx. 45–xxi. 17, Ruin of Jerusalem and the Holy Land under the figures of a conflagration and a sword.

xxi. 18–27, Symbolic narrative setting forth imminent ruin of Jerusalem; the king of Babylon, marching towards Palestine, casts lots as to whether he shall attack Jerusalem or Rabbath Ammon; the lot falls on Jerusalem.

xxi. 28–32, The doom of Ammon.

Probably a later passage, placed here, and not amongst the Oracles on the Nations because of the previous reference to Ammon. The "sword" here is sometimes understood as that of Jehovah [1] and sometimes as that of Ammon.[2]

xxii., The total depravity of the people, especially the princes, prophets, and priests.

xxiii., The alliances of Samaria and Jerusalem with foreign powers, and the consequent idolatry, corruption, and ruin described under the figure of the career of two sisters, Oholah and Oholibah, whom Jehovah married, but they were faithless to him, with many lovers.

Oholah and Oholibah are both based on *'Ohel*, tent; but their exact sense is doubtful. They are sometimes explained as contrasted; Oholah = *Her* tent, having a (sacred) tent of her own, *i.e.*, self-chosen and illegitimate worship; Oholibah = *My* (Jehovah's) tent is in her, *i.e.*, the Temple, as the one divinely appointed sanctuary. But the chapter suggests no contrast, and it is better to take the names as synonymous; Oholah = tent; Oholibah = tent-in-her [3]; both referring to the high places and their corrupt worship.

xxiv. 1–14 (Ninth year, tenth month, tenth day; beginning of final siege of Jerusalem, January, 587), Jerusalem besieged, figured as a rusted caldron, full of meat, boiling on the fire.

xxiv. 15–27, Ezekiel's wife dies; he is forbidden to mourn aloud, as a sign that the Jews will be dumb with anguish when they learn the fate of Jerusalem.

XXV.–XXXII., Oracles against Foreign Nations.

xxv., Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines.

xxvi.–xxviii. 19, Tyre. Tyre destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar; the princes of the sea, with whom she has traded, lament over her; her wealth and ruin figured by the wreck of a great merchant ship; the pride of the Prince of Tyre in wisdom and commerce; he was "wiser than Daniel," "the anointed cherub . . . in Eden, the garden of God . . . and upon the holy mountain of God"; yet he perishes miserably.

xxvii. 9b–25a is apparently an interpolation; it interrupts the context; the rest of the chapter describes a ship. These verses describe the trading city and its customers; so Bertholet.

xxviii. 20–23, Zidon.

[1] Bertholet. [2] Davidson, Skinner, etc.

[3] The *i* being an old construct ending.

xxviii. 24–26, Israel, restored and delivered from neighbours, who are "pricking briers" and "grieving thorns," shall dwell securely.

These verses would naturally conclude the section on foreign nations; they may have stood originally after xxxii.; or xxv.–xxviii. dealing with more immediate neighbours formed a separate section.

xxix.–xxxii., Egypt.

xxix. 1–16 (Tenth year, tenth month, twelfth day, January, 586), Pharaoh, the proud river dragon, destroyed; Egypt, desolate forty years, is afterwards restored as "the basest of the kingdoms."

xxix. 17–20 (Seven-and-twentieth year, first month, first day. April, 570), Note to the previous prophecy, added by Ezekiel, Nebuchadrezzar is to be compensated for his unsuccessful thirteen years' siege of Tyre by the conquest of Egypt.

xxix. 21, The revival of Israel.

This verse may be the conclusion of xxix. 1–16, or of 17–20; in the latter case it gives the last words of the prophet.

xxx. 1–19, and 20–26 (Eleventh year, first month, seventh day, April, 586), Egypt to be conquered, its cities sacked, its king overthrown, and the people carried captive by Nebuchadrezzar.

xxxi. (Eleventh year, third month, first day, June, 586), The overthrow of Pharaoh under the figure of the cutting down of a great cedar.

Instead of "the Assyrian was a cedar" in verse 3, *Asshur 'erez*, read "*Te'asshur*," a rare name for a species of cedar; *'erez*, cedar, is a gloss.[1]

xxxii. 1–16 (Twelfth[2] year, twelfth month, first day, March, 584). The nations lament over the ruin of Egypt.

17–32 (Twelfth year, twelfth month,[3] fifteenth day, March, 584), Dirge over Pharaoh and his army, who descend into Sheol to join Asshur and the other oppressors of Israel.

Chapters xxix.–xxxii. were uttered either during or soon after the siege of Jerusalem, 588–586, when the party opposed to Jeremiah and Ezekiel hoped that the intervention of Egypt would avert the doom which those prophets had pronounced against Judah.

[1] *Cf.* DAVIDSON, and SKINNER.

[2] Syr., LXX. A., eleventh, March, 585.

[3] The month is not given in the Hebrew Text, perhaps because this prophecy was given in the same month as the preceding. LXX. adds "in the first month," in which case the chronological order requires us to accept the reading "eleventh year" in verse 1.

XXXIII.–XXXIX., PROPHECIES OF RESTORATION.
(After the Fall of Jerusalem.)

xxxiii. 1–9, The prophet as watchman.

Parallel to iii. 16–21.

xxxiii. 10–20, The penitent sinner shall be saved, and the backsliding saint shall perish.

Parallel to xviii.

xxxiii. 21–33 (Eleventh[1] year, tenth month, fifth day, January, 585), Ezekiel hears of the Fall of Jerusalem. The remnant in Judah denounced for immorality, the exiles because they enjoy hearing Ezekiel, but do not act according to his message.

xxxiv., Former rulers have been evil shepherds, now Jehovah will shepherd His people, and give them for a shepherd His servant David, *i.e.*, a prince of the Davidic dynasty.

xxxv., xxxvi., Edom and other intruders into the Holy Land shall be driven out; and, for His name's sake, Jehovah will restore His people, and make the land populous and fertile. The people shall receive a new heart and a new spirit.

xxxvii. 1–14, The revival of the people under the figure of the resurrection of an army of dry bones.

xxxvii. 15–28, The reunion of Judah and Ephraim under "David my servant."

xxxviii. 1–xxxix. 24, The prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal, namely, Gog of the land of Magog, is moved, in the distant future, to lead the far-off nations against restored Israel. He and his hordes are annihilated, and the name of Jehovah finally vindicated before all nations.

Gog, Magog, Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal are alike unknown; *cf.* Gen. x. 2.

xxxix. 25–29, Brief summary of the promises of restoration, by way of conclusion to this group of prophecies, ending, "Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord Jehovah."

[1] So Syr. and some Hebrew MSS., leaving six months for the news to reach Babylonia; the ordinary Hebrew Text has "twelfth," leaving eighteen months, which is too long.

XL.–XLVIII., The Constitution of Restored Israel.

xl.–xliii. 12 (xl. 1, Five-and-twentieth year, beginning of the year, tenth day, April, 572), The Temple. The glory of God, described in chapter i., re-enters by the east gate, by which it departed.[1]

xliii. 13–27, The Altar.

xliv., The ministers of the Temple. The Levites who had been priests of the high places are degraded to the inferior position of temple-servants, and the priesthood is confined to the sons of Zadok, the Levites of the Temple.

xlv. 1–8, The lands of the Priests, Levites, and Prince.

xlv. 9–xlvi. 24, The sacrifices, for which the Prince provides out of his revenue.

xlvii. 1–12, A river from the Temple makes all the land fertile, except the marshes left to provide salt.

xlvii. 13–xlviii. 35, The extent of the Holy Land—Palestine, west of Jordan—and its division between the twelve tribes, the Priests, the Levites, and the Prince. The twelve gates of the city named after the twelve tribes.

(d) *Significance of the Book of Ezekiel.*—Ezekiel represents a transition and a compromise; the transition from the ancient Israel of the Monarchy to Judaism; and the compromise between the ethical teaching of the prophets and the popular need for ritual. When Ezekiel left his native land, he was old enough to carry with him the memory of the old order and its traditions; he was young enough to adapt himself to the conditions of the new order, which was to be so powerfully influenced by his ministry. He also marks the transition from the prophet to the scribe or theologian; he not only announces the Divine Revelation, but also discusses the relations of its various truths. Moreover in this book we see prophetic utterance passing into literary composition. The older prophets were first of all preachers, their books are merely records of their preaching, often collected and arranged by others. But, although Ezekiel also was a preacher, and his book represents his utterances, yet it is

[1] x. 18–22.

a careful piece of literary work, and much of it, especially xl.–xlviii., was originally composed in writing.

Chapters xliii. 18–xlv. 8 are a connecting link between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. Deuteronomy speaks of "the priests, the Levites," and Deuteronomy xviii. provides that, since the high places are to be suppressed, the Levites who had been priests of the high places may come to Jerusalem and share the functions and revenues of the Temple priesthood. Ezekiel directs that the Levites of the high places shall be degraded into an inferior order subordinate to the priesthood, which is confined to the Levites of the house of Zadok, *i.e.*, the Jerusalem priesthood, afterwards styled "Sons of Aaron."[1] This is the basis of the sharp distinction in the Priestly Code between the priests, or "sons of Aaron," and the Levites.

The period of transition lent itself to compromise. The earlier prophets laid almost exclusive stress on the moral and spiritual life, and emphatically condemned formal and superstitious worship, virtually disparaging all ritual. Yet fixed religious observances were still necessary for the people. In Deuteronomy the teaching of the prophets is combined with reforms in ritual. But this initial compromise was inadequate and indefinite, and the combination of the moral and spiritual teaching of i.–xxxix. with the ritual system of xl.–xlviii. was the formal recognition that Judaism was to be based on the ritual tradition as well as on the revelation made to the pre-exilic prophets.

(e) *The Teaching of Ezekiel.*—In matters of doctrine, Ezekiel chiefly expresses more clearly and formally the teaching of his predecessors. "While the substance of these chapters [i.–xxxix.] presents no single element which may not be traced in the writings of earlier prophets, there is none which does not receive a more distinct intellectual expression in the hands of Ezekiel."[2] The denunciation of foreign alliances, the doom of Israel and Judah on

[1] Perhaps including others besides Zadokites.

[2] SKINNER, art. "Ezekiel," Dr. HASTINGS' *Bible Dictionary.*

account of the vice and cruelty of the governing classes, the future restoration, and the Messiah as a Davidic prince, are all part of the message of earlier prophets.

But Ezekiel is chiefly dependent on Jeremiah. Both were able to look forward from the punishment inflicted upon the Jews by the Fall of Jerusalem to the new life of the Restoration, of which they write more fully and definitely than their predecessors. Ezekiel endorses Jeremiah's wholesale condemnation of the prophets, priests, and princes of their time. Ezekiel, too, utters no condemnation of Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon. Moreover the younger prophet further develops Jeremiah's teaching on individual religion; his prophetic ministry is partly pastoral, he is a watchman for every single soul.[1] In the famous eighteenth chapter he traverses the primitive theological application of heredity, and declares that a man is *not* punished for his father's sin; that each is judged, not only according to his own doings, but according to his moral condition at the time of judgment. His teaching as to a new heart and a new spirit[2] is an echo of Jeremiah's New Covenant.

The more characteristic features of Ezekiel's teaching are:—

(i.) The Divine Transcendence; Jehovah touches Jeremiah's mouth, but Ezekiel multiplies elaborate symbols to suggest his vision not of Jehovah, but of the glory of God.

(ii.) Jehovah restores the Jews "for His name's sake," because His reputation is bound up in the eyes of the world with their prosperity. Israel has no claim but the divine election; the people has been evil from the beginning.[3]

(iii.) Chapters xxxviii., xxxix., with their picture of the heathen armies under Gog gathered together to perish in an attack on Jerusalem, probably suggested the similar apocalyptic visions in Joel and the Appendix to Zechariah.[4]

(iv.) The ordinances of xl.–xlviii. involve the principle of graduated sanctity of religious persons, places, things, and

[1] iii. 16–21, xxxiii. 1–9. [2] xi. 19. [3] xxiii.
[4] The germ of the idea is perhaps found in Zeph. iii. 8.

times, afterwards developed and systematised in the Priestly Code.

(f) *The Relation of xl.–xlviii. to the Law of Holiness*, see chapter ii. § 19.

(g) *Canonicity.*—It is stated that, on account of the marked differences between many ordinances in Ezekiel and the corresponding laws in the Pentateuch, there was some question of excluding Ezekiel from the Jewish Scriptures; but, at the beginning of the Christian Era, Hananiah ben Hezekiah shut himself up with 300 measures of lamp-oil, and reconciled them.

(h) *Use in the New Testament.*—Much of the imagery of the Apocalypse is derived from this book; also, possibly, the description of Christ as the Good Shepherd[1]; otherwise the traces of this book in N.T. are very few and slight.

10. Daniel.

(a) *Date and Authorship*—It is not clear that the author intended this book to be received as the work of Daniel himself. The narratives are in the third person, and each of the two halves of the apocalyptic section is introduced by a verse in the third person.[2] Nor does the constant use of "I, Daniel," in this section, necessarily involve a claim that the rest of chapters vii.–xii. was actually written by Daniel. The literary method which secures dramatic effect by speaking in the name of some well-known character, has always been familiar. It is used in Ecclesiastes, where the author speaks in the character of Solomon, "I, the Preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem"[3]; and it is the conventional form of apocalyptic literature. We have no clear evidence as to whether the convention was generally understood by the author's contemporaries.

The general character of an apocalypse is that the author places in the mouth of some ancient worthy a history of events up to the author's own time, followed by a description of God's judgment on the wicked and deliverance of His

[1] *Cf.* xxxiv. with John x. 16, Hebrews xiii. 20, i. Peter ii. 25.
[2] vii. 1, x. 1. [3] i. 13.

people. In Daniel vii.–xii. we have four historical sketches, each of which ends with the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. His ruin and death, which are announced in general terms, seem to be still future. The last and fullest sketch of the history[1] is followed by an account of the resurrection and judgment. Similarly, but with less details, Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the Great Image announces the establishment of the Kingdom of God as the immediate sequel to the Greek dominion in Egypt and Syria.[2]

In view of these facts, the book is commonly dated between the desecration of the Temple, 168, and the death of Antiochus, 164. If we deduce from viii. 14, "The sanctuary shall be cleansed,"[3] that the reconsecration of the Temple in 165 had already taken place, we are shut up to the close of 165 or the beginning of 164.[4]

This conclusion is confirmed by a wealth of evidence, external and internal. While there is no trace of the existence of the book before 168, its influence from that time onward is very marked. Thus there is no mention of Daniel in the great list of Jewish worthies, Ecclesiasticus xliv.–l., *c.* 200, which, moreover, says "Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph"[5]; though as a Jew in high office at a foreign court, and as an interpreter of dreams, Daniel was very like Joseph. On the other hand a section of the Sibylline verses, dated about B.C. 140, refers to the "ten horns,"[6] and i. Maccabees, *c.* B.C. 100, refers to the Fiery Furnace and the Den of Lions.

In the Hebrew Canon, Daniel is not placed among the Prophets, but in the Hagiographa, the latest section of the Canon; although Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who were later than the time at which Daniel is described as living, are placed among the prophets. Either the Jews did not regard

[1] x.–xii. [2] ii. 44.

[3] *Weniçdaq qōdhesh*, R.V. Mg., justified. Bevan thinks that the vagueness of this prediction shows that the event had not yet taken place.

[4] CORNILL, KAUTZSCH, KÖNIG, STRACK, after 168; DRIVER, 168 or 167. [5] xlix. 15.

[6] BEVAN, *cf.* vii. 7, 20, 24, with Sibyllines III., 388 ff.

the book as prophetical, or it was considerably later than Malachi, *c.* 444.

The language also points to a late date. For the most part the Hebrew is fairly correct; the author, doubtless, was a scholar, who wrote in a classical style. But here and there he betrays himself by using the vocabulary of Chronicles, or of post-biblical Hebrew.[1] The appearance of Greek words, especially the late Greek *συμφωνία*,[2] E.V. dulcimer, points to the Greek period rather than to the Exile. The recently-discovered fragments of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus show that a very fair imitation of classical Hebrew was written in the Greek period.

The author shows an intimate acquaintance with the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, but makes serious mistakes about Nebuchadnezzar and the Fall of Babylon, and the early Persian Empire. Belshazzar was neither the son, nor of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. "He had disappeared from history when Cyrus entered Babylonia . . . Cyrus entered Babylon in peace . . . and the Babylonian king was not slain." "'Darius the Mede' is a reflection into the past of Darius, the son of Hystaspes," *i.e.*, history not only tells us nothing of any "Darius the Mede," but his existence in the position assigned to him by our book is entirely inconsistent with what history does tell us of that period. On these and other grounds Professor Sayce concludes that "The story of Belshazzar's Fall is not historical in the modern sense of the word history," and that "The name of Darius and the story of the slaughter of the Chaldæan king go together."[3]

The statement of Josephus[4] that the High Priest Jaddua presented the Book of Daniel to Alexander the Great is from the narrative of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, which is generally regarded as untrustworthy.

The date of the LXX. is too uncertain to be used as an argument for the early existence of our book.

[1] BEVAN, 28 ff.
[2] iii. 4 sûmpōnyâ, R.V. Mg. bagpipe.
[3] *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 1894, pp. 524–531.
[4] Antt. xi., 8, 5.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—At the close of the Greek period, Judæa was a province of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 175–164, tried to hellenise the Jews, and met with some success.[1] In 175 he deposed the High Priest Onias III.,[2] and replaced him by his hellenising brother Jason. In 168 Antiochus set on foot a fierce persecution to induce the Jews to relinquish circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath. He attempted to destroy all copies of the Law.[3] In this persecution many Jews suffered martyrdom, with great heroism. At his command there was set up on the altar of burnt offering at the Temple, "the abomination of desolation"[4]—a heathen altar or idol. In 167 began the revolt of the Maccabees, in 166 Judas Maccabæus occupied Jerusalem, and in 165 reconsecrated the Temple about three years[5] after its pollution. In 164, Antiochus Epiphanes died, leaving Judas still in possession of Jerusalem.

(c) *Daniel.*—Probably the narratives in i.–vi. are based on some older work or on popular tradition, no trace of which, however, is found except in Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20, where Daniel is coupled with Noah and Job, and in Ezekiel xxviii. 3, where he is referred to as a typical wise man; "Behold," says Ezekiel to the prince of Tyre, "thou art wiser than Daniel." Apparently the prophet is referring to some ancient Israelite sage. As he wrote these verses shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem, 586, and Daniel did not begin his public career till the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, *c.* 603, the story of Daniel as known to Ezekiel must have been entirely different from that told in our book. According to i. 4 Daniel was a youth at the time[6]; he is also represented as surviving the Fall of Babylon, 536, so that in 586 he can scarcely have been more than thirty-six.[7]

[1] xi. 32. [2] ix. 26. [3] *Cf.* vii. 25, ix. 26, 27, xi. 28–32.
[4] i. Macc. i. 54, Daniel xi. 31, xii. 11. [5] vii. 25, etc.
[6] The notes of time in chapters i. and ii. are difficult to reconcile with each other, but the events in chapter ii. must be understood as happening not more than a year after those of chapter i.
[7] Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, author of the *Pulpit Commentary* Daniel, has furnished me with a curious parallel to the supposed mention by

(d) *Language.*—The section ii. 4–vii. 28 is in Aramaic. The comparison of this section with the rest of the book does not suggest any satisfactory reason why part should have been written in Hebrew and part in Aramaic. Why, for instance, should the Chaldæan king speak to the Chaldæans in Hebrew in ii. 3, be answered by them in Aramaic in ii. 4b, and the rest of the narratives, conversations included, be given in Aramaic? Why, again, should the vision in vii., in the first year of Belshazzar, be in Aramaic, and the very similar vision in viii., in the same king's third year, be in Hebrew? The variety of language certainly does not distinguish parts intended for the learned from those addressed to the common people, nor is it arranged according to the nationality of speakers or hearers. The least difficult explanation is that of Lenormant, adopted by Bevan.[1] It is suggested that part of the Hebrew of Daniel was lost, and the gap was filled up from an Aramaic translation or Targum. That the Aramaic section concludes with the end of a division of the book, raises no difficulty; but it cannot be a mere accident that the Aramaic section begins immediately after the statement, "Then spake the Chaldæans to the king in Aramaic." Perhaps the editor who used an Aramaic document to supply the gap in the Hebrew did not simply fill in just what was wanting in the Hebrew, but sacrificed a portion of the Hebrew to avoid an abrupt and unexplained transition from Hebrew to Aramaic; ii. 4a was the latest point in the Hebrew at which Aramaic could be introduced for the first time with any apparent fitness.

The book must have assumed its bi-lingual form at a very

Ezekiel of a contemporary in the same breath with ancient worthies. At family worship, the night after the Disruption, Dr. Hamilton, of London, read Hebrews xi., and, in concluding, added to the list of the Scriptural heroes the names of the leading Disruption worthies. At the utmost, however, such parallels only show that it is possible that Ezekiel was speaking of a young contemporary, not that it is probable.

Persons of the name Daniel are also mentioned in i. Chron. iii. 1, a son of David, by the wise woman Abigail, Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 6, they can have nothing to do either with Ezekiel's Daniel, or the subject of our book.

[1] Page 27.

early date, since the LXX. was clearly translated from a MS. in which ii. 4–vii. 28 was in Aramaic and the rest in Hebrew.[1]

(e) *The Greek Daniel.*—Both in the LXX. and in Theodotion, *c.* A.D. 180, the book is expanded by the insertion of the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, and by the addition of the narratives of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon, of which Daniel is the hero.[2]

In the Greek Bible of the Christian Church,[3] Theodotion's translation displaced that of the Seventy.

(f) *Contents.*

I.–VI., NARRATIVES IN THE THIRD PERSON.

Daniel and his companions fed on pulse. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the Great Image. The Fiery Furnace. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the Great Tree hewn down, foreshowing his madness. Belshazzar's Feast. Daniel in the Den of Lions.

VII.–XII., VISIONS IN THE FIRST PERSON.[4]

vii.,[5] The Four Beasts, *i.e.*, the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek Empires. The fourth beast has ten horns, *i.e.*, ten successive kings. A little horn, *i.e.*, Antiochus Epiphanes, comes up, before which three of the ten horns, *i.e.*, three of his predecessors or rivals, are plucked up. The little horn persecutes the saints, *i.e.*, the persecutions of the Maccabæan period. The "Ancient of Days" destroys the Fourth Beast and takes away the power of the other three, and gives dominion over the earth to a Man, *i.e.*, Israel.

"One like unto a Son of Man," *i.e.*, human in contrast to the beasts which symbolise the Gentile Empires. *Cf.* the use of "Servant of Jehovah" for Israel in Isaiah xliv. 21, etc. The "One like unto a Son of Man," to whom dominion is given in 14, must equal "the people of the saints of the Most High," to whom dominion is given in 27, in the explanation of the vision. This view is quite consistent with the use of "Son of Man" in N.T. for Christ; N.T. regularly applies to Christ what is said of Israel in O.T., *e.g.*, Matt. ii. 15 and Hosea xi. 1. The view, however, that our phrase refers to a personal Messiah, has been accepted by Ewald.[6]

[1] BEVAN, 28. [2] *Cf.* chap. vii., § 5. [3] *e.g.*, in A B.
[4] In vii. 1, x. 1, introductory verses, Daniel is spoken of in the third person. [5] *Cf.* the Dream in ii. [6] Ap. Bevan, 118.

viii., The Ram and the He-Goat. A Ram with two horns, the Medo-Persian Empire[1] is overthrown by the Greeks under Alexander.[2] The horn of the He-Goat is replaced by four horns, the kingdoms of Alexander's successors.[3] From one of the four horns, *i.e.*, Syria, arises a little horn, *i.e.*, Antiochus Epiphanes, who sacks the Temple and stops the Daily Sacrifice. The desolation of the Temple to last 2300 mornings and evenings, *i.e.*, 1150 days, three years, and a fraction. The explanation is given by the Angel Gabriel.

ix., After confession and prayer by Daniel, Gabriel appears and tells him that[4] "From the going forth of the promise to people and to build Jerusalem," *i.e.*, the promise to Jeremiah at the time of the Fall of Jerusalem,[5] "until an Anointed One, a Prince,"[6] *i.e.*, either until Cyrus,[7] or until there is again a High Priest actually officiating[8] "(there are) seven weeks," *i.e.*, 49 years, about the time of the captivity, "and for sixty and two weeks it shall be peopled and built," and after the sixty-two weeks "the Anointed One shall be cut off . . . and the city and the sanctuary shall go to ruin," *i.e.*, 434 years after the Return, the High Priest will be slain or removed—the reference is perhaps to Onias III. deposed early in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes—and the city and Temple sacked. "The covenant shall be annulled for the many during one week,"[9] *i.e.*, seven years, perhaps referring to the unsettlement and laxity preceding the persecutions, "and during half a week," *i.e.*, three years and a half,[10] "sacrifice and oblation shall cease, and instead thereof (there shall be) abominations set up." Afterwards the desolator, Antiochus, is to be destroyed.

[1] 20. [2] 21. [3] 22.

[4] The translation quoted here is BEVAN'S, p. 161.

[5] Jer. xxx. 18–22. [6] Māshîah Nāgîdh.

[7] Isaiah xlv. 1.

[8] BLEEK, etc., ap. DRIVER, BEVAN.

[9] R.V., "He shall make a firm covenant with many for one week," perhaps referring to Antiochus and the Hellenising party among the Jews.

[10] *Cf.* the three years and a fraction, viii. 14, and the "time, times, and half a time," xii. 7.

The explanation just given would not be borne out by an exact chronology, from the destruction of Jerusalem, 586, to the reconsecration of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, 165, is only about 421 years. But such absence of mathematical accuracy is unimportant in an apocalypse, where numbers are not determined merely by arithmetic, but also by symbolism and theology.[1] Moreover, an exact knowledge of chronology was rare and difficult for the ordinary Jew, and there is no reason to suppose that the author of this book was an expert in the subject. All attempts to find in these figures a prediction of the precise date of the crucifixion are shipwrecked on similar difficulties. An inaccuracy which is natural and harmless in a symbolic apocalypse, would be fatal to a prediction supposed to guarantee Christianity by foretelling the exact time of the death of Christ.

Cf. BEVAN and J. E. H. THOMSON, Daniel, *Pulpit Commentary*.

x.–xii., An abstract of the history of the East from the time of "Darius the Mede," narrated to Daniel by "One like the similitude of the sons of men," in the interval between the narrator's conflicts with the prince, or guardian angel of Persia, in which the narrator was aided by Michael, the guardian angel of the Jews. No names of persons are given, and with some exceptions, places are described and not named. In spite of the obscurity of this method, and the scantiness of information as to the East in this period, we are able to recognise in xi. a tolerably accurate sketch of the history of the Persian and Greek empires in Egypt and Syria, between *c.* 536 and the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The latter half of the chapter, or more, is taken up with a more detailed account of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, specially dwelling on his intrigues with Hellenising Jews, and his profaning the sanctuary, stopping the regular burnt-offering, and setting up the abomination "that maketh desolate."[2] The account of his doings concludes "Tidings from the East and North shall trouble him: and he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. He shall plant his pavilions between the sea and the glorious holy mountain" — definite details, followed by the vague, general statement—"yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."[3]

[1] The 490 years are probably 7 times Jeremiah's 70 years.
[2] xi. 30 f. [3] xi. 45.

The lapse from details to generalities seems to show that, at the time of writing, the death of Antiochus had not yet taken place.

As we know no events towards the close of Antiochus' reign corresponding to xi. 40–45a, Bevan thinks they are a prediction of what the author expected to happen. But, "at the time of the end" in 40, is scarcely sufficient indication of the transition from narrative to prediction. The tenor and tone of 40 ff. is just the same as that of the preceding sections. It is also difficult to regard it as a *résumé* of Antiochus' reign, or as a recurrence to the events of 168, already referred to in 29 ff. The difficulty may arise from our imperfect knowledge of the history, or from some corruption of the text, *e.g.*, 40–45 may have been originally independent, parallel to and not a sequel of the preceding. In 45, Theodotion has, "He shall come as far as his portion,"[1] instead of "he shall come to his end."

The last chapter tells how Michael, the prince, or guardian angel of Israel, delivers the people. There is a resurrection of the dead to rewards and punishments. The tribulation lasts for "a time, times, and half a time," *i.e.*, three years and a half, or 1290 days, also about three years and a half from the stopping of the daily sacrifice. And "Blessed is he that waiteth" forty-five days longer, "and cometh to the 1335 days."[2]

(g) *Teaching.*—The characteristic function of the apocalypse is to state the divine judgment on history, to trace the course of events as the working out of God's purposes for His people, and to announce the vindication of God's moral government of the world in a day of reward and retribution. The narratives must have served to steel the Jews to endure torture and death for their faith. The part played by angels is similar to that in Zechariah, but here two angels, Gabriel and Michael, are named,[3] and there are "princes" or guardian angels of different nations.[4] Daniel also contains the most explicit passage[5] in O.T. as to a resurrection; just and unjust alike are to be raised from the dead, the one to be rewarded, the other to be punished. The resurrection is partial,

[1] ἕως μέρους αὐτοῦ.

[2] *Cf.* also the 1150 days of viii. 14; the reason and significance of the slight differences in the number of days cannot now be explained.

[3] viii. 16, x. 13, 21, xii. 1.

[4] Persia, x. 13; Greece, x. 20; the Jews, x. 21.

[5] xii. 2.

"many . . . shall awake"; perhaps the silence as to Gentiles shows that the author is only thinking of the Jews; the resurrection is to an eternal life in the kingdom of God on earth. Yet these limitations are more apparent than real. There are points in O.T. Revelation where Israel almost becomes a term for regenerate mankind, and, in the Messianic pictures of the future earth, is transformed to heaven.

(h) *Use in the New Testament.*—Much of the imagery of the Apocalypse is borrowed from Daniel. Perhaps the N.T. phrase, "Son of Man," was first suggested by vii. 13, though, on the one hand, the phrase, in a less special use, is common in Ezekiel; and, on the other, it may have reached the N.T. through the Book of Enoch. This verse is alluded to Mark xiii. 26, etc., and in Mark xiii. 14 the phrase "abomination of desolation"[1] is applied to something in connection with the last siege of Jerusalem. The description of the Man of Sin, ii. Thessalonians ii. 4, may be partly suggested by xi. 36. In Hebrews xi. 33 f. Daniel is alluded to in the clause, "stopped the mouths of lions," and the Three Children in "quenched the power of fire."

[1] ix. 27.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE PROPHETS

1. Introductory.
2. Hosea.
3. Joel.
4. Amos.
5. Obadiah.
6. Jonah.
7. Micah.
8. Nahum.
9. Habakkuk.
10. Zephaniah.
11. Haggai.
12. Zechariah i.–viii.
13. Zechariah ix.–xiv.
14. Malachi.

1. **Introductory.**—These books are usually known as the "Minor Prophets," because they are shorter than the preceding; but Ecclesiasticus, Josephus, and some of the Rabbis and Fathers, who reckon them as a single book, speak of them as "the Twelve" or "the Twelve Prophets," or "the Book of the Twelve Prophets,"[1] and the use of the latter title has been revived by Professor G. A. Smith. The Jewish custom of reckoning the number of O.T. books as twenty-two or twenty-four implies that "the Twelve" were reckoned as a single work. Probably it was formed independently as a separate collection, completed not later than B.C. 200[2]; and passed through one or more earlier editions, Zech. ix.–xiv. and Malachi being added after the rest of the books had been collected.

The LXX. places the first six in the order: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah; the last six in the same order as the Hebrew. Probably the order represents the chronological theories of different editors.

2. **Hosea.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Our only source of information

[1] Τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον.

[2] On account of Ecclesiasticus xlix. 10

is the book itself. According to i. 1, Hosea the son of Beeri ministered in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel, *i.e.*, between *c.* 778 and *c.* 695, and between *c.* 783 and *c.* 743. Internal evidence approximately confirms this statement. Moreover, the prosperity of Israel is no longer at its height, as in Amos; but the series of disasters which culminated in the Fall of Samaria have begun. Hence Hosea is somewhat later than Amos, *i.e.*, *c.* 745–735; his ministry probably began about the close of the reign of Jeroboam II., continued under his successors, and ended before the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz, and the carrying captive of Galilee and Gilead by Tiglath-Pileser, to which events there is no reference.

Hosea was doubtless a citizen of the northern kingdom; notice "our king"[1] of the king of Israel. Hosea's call to the prophetic office perhaps came through his family troubles. His wife, who had borne him two sons and a daughter, left him for another man. This experience may have brought home to him the corrupt state of the people.[2] Eventually the prophet bought his wife back again, and received her into his house.

Critical questions are confined to the interpretation of i.–iii. and the authenticity of certain passages, especially xiv.; see Contents. The lack of orderly sequence shows that the book cannot have been compiled by the prophet himself, unless it has since suffered much at the hands of editors.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Hosea's ministry seems to have been the immediate sequel of that of Amos.[3] The Assyrians, under Tiglath-Pileser III., began to harass Syria towards the close of Jeroboam's reign. Jeroboam's son, Zachariah, after a reign of six months, was murdered by Shallum; Shallum, a month later, by Menahem. Menahem is mentioned in an Assyrian inscription as tributary to Assyria. He reigned ten years; his son, Pekahiah, after a reign of two years, was murdered by Pekah. Even this meagre statement

[1] vii. 5. [2] See on i.–iii. [3] See Amos, (b).

confirms the pictures of anarchy and confusion drawn by Hosea. The corruption of the prosperous days of Jeroboam II. blossomed into open vice and crime in the disastrous reigns of his successors.

(c) *Contents.*—i.–iii., By divine command Hosea marries an immoral woman, Gomer, who bears him two sons, Jezreel, Lo-ammi (not my people), and a daughter, Lo-ruhamah (not pitied). She left him to live an immoral life; he bought her back, and took her home, where he kept her in seclusion. Gomer and her children are types of Israel, its infidelity to Jehovah, whom it forsook for the Baalim, and its punishment, and ultimate forgiveness.

iii. 3b is obscure, and its text uncertain; it probably means that Hosea would not associate with Gomer, so that she would be deprived of all conjugal privileges, with a view to her reformation, just as (see following verses) Israel was to be deprived of all the privileges of national life, for the same purpose. These chapters have been interpreted as being (i.) a literal account of Hosea's actual experiences; (ii.) purely allegorical, as if Jehovah had said to Hosea: Imagine such dealings between yourself and an unfaithful wife as symbolising my dealings with Israel; (iii.) founded on fact, *e.g.*, Hosea's wife having proved unfaithful, he is led to testify against the vice of his times, and feels that he was as divinely led to his unhappy marriage for this purpose, as if he had received an actual divine command.

Passages contrasting Judah with Israel, *e.g.*, i. 7, iv. 15, xi. 12b, and, less frequently, other references to Judah, *e.g.*, vi. 11, viii. 14, are supposed to be additions by later Jewish editors. Probably Israel should be read for Judah in v. 10, 12, 13, 14.[1]

Similar views are held by some[2] as to the passages promising restoration to Israel, *e.g.*, i. 10, 11, ii. 6, 7, 14, 16, 18–23, iii. 5, v. 15–vi. 3, xi. 8b, 9a, 10, 11, xiv.[3]

iv.–xiii., The vice and immorality of Israel, especially of the priests and rulers, combined with the immoral and superstitious worship of Jehovah at the high places,[4] will bring Israel to irrevocable ruin, in spite of attempts to conclude alliances with Egypt and Assyria.[5] Israel shall be carried captive to Egypt and Assyria.[6] Jehovah's love is shown in His yearning

[1] Nowack, Minor Prophets.

[2] *e.g.*, Cheyne regards i. 10, 11, iii. 5, v. 15–vi. 4, xiv. as additions.

[3] See below on xiv.

[4] iv. 12 ff., viii. 5 f., ix. 15, x. 5, 15, xii. 11.

[5] vii. 1, viii. 9, xii. 1.

[6] ix. 3, 6, x. 6, xi. 5.

over Israel, His reluctance to chastise His people, and by His repeated appeals to them through His prophets.[1]

For suspected passages, see on i.–iii. and xiv.

xiv., Appeal for repentance, and promise of forgiveness and restoration.

Cheyne[2] rejects this chapter, chiefly because it "is akin both in language and imagery, and in ideas to writings of the age which begins with Jeremiah." But G. A. Smith unhesitatingly accepts xiv. as by Hosea, though probably not the latest of his utterances preserved in our book. The list given in connection with i.–iii., and the fact that the last we hear of Gomer is that she is still under the protection of Hosea, show that the idea of restoration runs through the whole book. It is more probable that it was a favourite idea of Hosea, than that editors have so systematically and successfully interwoven it with his utterances. The parallels with Jeremiah and later writings may be due to their dependence on Hosea; Jeremiah especially makes large use of Hosea.

(d) *Significance of Hosea.*—Hosea endorses Amos' protest against the divorce of external devotion from morality, and sums up such teaching in our Lord's favourite quotation[3]: "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings"—a verse which also includes another characteristic doctrine of Hosea, the necessity of the knowledge of God, *i.e.*, intelligent religion and spiritual experience. Hosea first, as Isaiah and Jeremiah later on, denounces foreign alliances. Like Amos, he attacks the high places, and further specifically denounces idols.[4] The emphasis laid on Jehovah's love for Israel, illustrates the prophet's intense love for his country, and his deep distress at her coming ruin.

Other quotations in N.T.: i. 10, ii. 23, Romans ix. 25, 26; x. 8, Luke xxiii. 30; xi. 1, "I called my son (Israel) out of Egypt," applied to Christ, Matthew ii. 15; xiii. 4, i. Corinthians xv. 55 f., "O death, where is thy sting? etc."

3. Joel.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Nothing is known of the author beyond his name "Joel, the son of Pethuel," or as the LXX.,

[1] v. 15–vi. 6, vii. 1, xi. 1–11, xii. 6.

[2] Introduction to 1895 edition of W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. xix.

[3] vi. 6 *cf.* Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7.

[4] iv. 17, viii. 4, xiii. 2, xiv. 8.

Syr., and some other versions have it "Bethuel"; and, what may be gathered from the book itself, that he was a Jew, probably of Jerusalem, and possibly a priest.

As in the case of Zechariah ix.–xiv., the notes of time have been very differently interpreted. Some regard Joel as the earliest of the prophetical books, and assign it to the early part of the reign of Joash of Judah, *c.* 830; but the general opinion inclines more and more to a post-exilic date. The main points, capable of opposite interpretations, are as follows: (i.) Joel makes no reference whatever to the Syrians, Assyrians, or Chaldæans. These nations figure constantly in history and prophecy from the time of Ahaz and Amos till the Exile. Even later Zechariah is still interested in Babylon. This silence points to a date before Ahaz or after Zechariah. (ii.) Joel mentions neither king nor princes, but, in their stead, elders and priests are prominent.[1] This has been explained of the minority of Joash, when Jehoiada the priest controlled the government of Judah,[2] but agrees better with the post-exilic period when there was no king, and the high priest was the chief Jewish authority. (iii.) Egypt and Edom are denounced for shedding "innocent blood" in Judah.[3] This has been connected with Shishak's invasion in the reign of Rehoboam, and the revolt of Edom under Jehoram, the grandfather of Joash. But these events were remote in the time of Joash; hatred of Edom is a constant note of post-exilic literature; the mention of Egypt may be a literary reminiscence of the condemnation of Egypt by the older prophets; or may refer to the Ptolemies. (iv.) Joel presents a remarkable number of parallels with other O.T. literature. Either Joel is a very early and popular book, constantly used by writers from Amos to Malachi; or he is a very late author, who made large use of his predecessors. Each of the two views has been strongly held, but the latter is the more probable. The easy and classical style of Joel is best understood as that of an accomplished student of earlier literature.[4]

[1] i. 9, 13, 14, ii. 17. [2] ii. Kings xii. 2. [3] iii. 19.
[4] G. GRAY, *Expositor*, September, 1893; DRIVER, *C.B.S.*, Joel, etc., pp. 19 ff.

Thus the less decisive notes of time point, on the whole, to the period after the Exile; and this date is conclusively confirmed by the following considerations; the mention of the Greeks,[1] the entire silence as to the northern kingdom, and the use of the term "Israel" in the post-exilic sense of Judah as representing the chosen people[2]; the description of God's people as "scattered among the nations," who have "parted my land" between them[3]; silence as to idolatry, and anxiety for the regular maintenance of the Temple services, which priests and people do their best to maintain.[4]

This last point suggests a date subsequent to the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah; otherwise the evidence is not definite enough to enable us to assign the book to any precise date. Driver[5] inclines to a date shortly after Haggai and Zechariah i.–viii.[6]

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—The plague of locusts, which was the occasion of this book, occurred at some time in the Persian period[7] when the Temple services were carefully observed, and when the Jews had suffered from border raids of their neighbours.

(c) *Contents.*—i. 1–ii. 11, The prophet describes a plague of locusts, which afflicted Judah in his time, which he regards partly as a "Day of Jehovah," or special divine judgment; partly as a warning of a "day" yet to come, which he depicts under the figure of a yet more terrible visitation of locusts.

Some regard the section as altogether a figurative description of a great invasion, either actual or predicted; others, as altogether a prediction either of an actual plague of locusts, or of a future judgment.

ii. 12–17, Exhortation to repentance.

ii. 18–27, Fertile seasons to be restored to penitent Israel.

ii. 28–32, Universal outpouring of the Spirit.

[1] iii. 6.

[2] *Cf.* ii. 23, with ii. 27; iii. 1 with iii. 2; and iii. 16b with iii. 16a, 17.

[3] iii. 2. [4] i. 9, 13; ii. 14. [5] *C.B.S.*, p. 25.

[6] König assigns Joel to the end of Josiah's reign, when Judah suffered at the hands of the Egyptian king, Pharaoh Necho. Rothstein assigns i., ii. to the minority of Joash, iii., iv. to the period after the exile.

[7] *Cf.* §§ 11–14.

iii., The nations gathered in the Valley of Jehoshaphat ("Jehovah judges") to be judged. Special punishment of Tyre, Zidon, Philistia, Egypt, and Edom for wrongs done to Judah. Judah and Jerusalem delivered and purified, and established in permanent prosperity.

(d) *Significance of Joel, and use in N.T.*—The apocalyptic vision of the last section is dependent on Ezekiel xxxviii., xxxix., and may underlie Zechariah xii.–xiv. and Isaiah xxiv.–xxvii. Note also the absence of any Davidic Messiah; Jehovah Himself intervenes.

Most striking is the passage which furnished Peter with his text on the Day of Pentecost,[1] "Afterwards will I pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: even upon the slaves, both men and women, will I pour out my Spirit in those days." This passage is akin to Jeremiah's New Covenant written in every heart.[2]

4. Amos.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Nothing is known except what may be learnt from the book itself. According to i. 1, Amos[3] was a herdsman of Tekoa in the reigns of Uzziah of Judah and Jeroboam II. of Israel, *i.e.*, between *c.* 778 and *c.* 736, and between *c.* 783 and *c.* 743, and prophesied concerning Israel, "two years before the earthquake." In vii. 14 Amos repudiates any connection with the guilds of professional prophets, and styles himself "a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees." The contents of the book quite agree with these statements. We further learn[4] that Amos appeared at the temple at Bethel, probably at a festival, denounced Jeroboam, and was driven away by the priest Amaziah.

Amos' ministry to Israel, and the mention of sycamores,

[1] ii. 28; Acts ii. 17–21, *cf.* Romans x. 13.
[2] Jeremiah xxxi. 31 ff., *cf.* Ezekiel xxxvi. 26.
[3] *i.e.*, *'Amôs;* the father of Isaiah was *'Amôç.*
[4] vii. 10–17.

not found at the Judæan Tekoa, have led to the suggestion that he belonged to some Tekoa in the northern kingdom; but Tekoa here is Tekoa in Judah,[1] six miles south of Bethlehem. "Herdsman"[2] denotes keeper of a peculiar breed of sheep. His second occupation and the lack of sycamores at Tekoa show that he led his flocks some distance from home. Nothing more is known about the earthquake[3]; but the power of Jeroboam seems at its height, so that the book may be dated *c.* 750, some little time before the close of the reign.

Critical questions merely concern sections of the book; see below on ii. 4, 5.

The book may have been compiled by the prophet himself, or by one of his disciples.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Under Uzziah and Jeroboam, Judah and still more Israel enjoyed a great revival of power and prosperity,[4] which, however, as we learn from the prophetical books, was accompanied by social corruption and the oppression of the poor and helpless. The formation of great estates resulted in the growth of a landless, pauper class. Yet the worship of Jehovah was carried on with great splendour and assiduous devotion at many sanctuaries, and Jeroboam had been encouraged in his successful wars by Jonah ben Amittai, whom Kings recognises as a true prophet.

The revival of Israel was due to two causes: the power of Damascus had been broken by the Assyrian kings, Rammannirari III. and Shalmaneser III., etc., 811–767; and the Assyrians did not push their advantages further, but, for the time, allowed Jeroboam to reap the fruits of their victories. Amos' ministry, however, immediately preceded the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III., 745, who resumed the forward movement of Assyria in South Western Asia.

(c) *Contents.*—i. 1–ii. 3, Oracles against Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. They will be

[1] *Cf.* i. 2, vii. 12.
[2] Nōqēd.
[3] *Cf.* Zech. xiv. 5.
[4] ii. Kings xiv. 23–29.

punished for their sins against Israel and against each other; i. 11, 12 (Edom) may be an interpolation.

ii. 4–5, The Doom of Judah.

This section with the other references to Judah, i. 2, "from Zion," vi. 1, ix. 11, 12 are sometimes held to be interpolations, partly because the prophet elsewhere seems exclusively interested in Israel.

ii. 6–16, The Doom of Israel for vice, oppression of the poor, and the silencing of true prophets.

iii.–vi. enlarge upon the theme of the previous section. Prophecy has its adequate cause, Jehovah's communications to His servants.[1] The high places, Bethel, Gilgal, Beersheba,[2] and their splendid worship is rejected by Jehovah, because combined with cruelty and vice.[3] Jehovah will not deliver them in His "Day," but chastise them by a cruel invader who will carry them captive beyond Damascus.[4]

The doxologies to God as Creator and Ruler, iv. 13, v. 8, 9, ix. 5, 6, may be interpolations; they are parallel in style and ideas to II. Isaiah, and interrupt the context.

vii. 1–9, Visions of locusts, fire, Jehovah with a plumb-line symbolise the ruin of Israel.

vii. 10–17, Amos at Bethel.

viii., Vision of a basket of summer fruit, symbolising the speedy decay of Israel.

ix. 1–7, Vision of Jehovah at the altar, inflicting chastisement, from which there is no escape.[5]

ix. 8–15, The Restoration of Israel after its purification.

These verses are often regarded as a later addition, because they contrast with the unqualified predictions of ruin in the rest of the book; because "the fallen tabernacle of David" implies the fall of the dynasty, 586; because of the hostile reference to the remnant of Edom, and other points of contact with exilic and post-exilic literature. Dr. Driver, however, still assigns them to Amos, with some hesitation.[6]

(d) *Significance of Amos, and Use in N.T.*—Apart from fragments in later works, Amos is the earliest prophet whose words are extant in writing. He also first indicates the

[1] iii. 1–8. [2] iv. 4, v. 5. [3] v. 18–27.

[4] v. 18, 27, vi. 14. [5] On ix. 5, 6 see on iii.–vi.

[6] *C.B.S.*, Joel and Amos, 119 ff.; the section is rejected by Cheyne and G. A. Smith. Amongst other suspected passages are i. 9, 10, iii. 14 b, v. 13–15, 26, vi. 2, 9, 10, viii. 6, 8, 11, 12, 13.

severance between true prophecy and the prophetic order which is conspicuous in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But his most important characteristic is that he strikes the keynote of eighth century prophecy. Popular faith dwelt on the privileges of the Chosen People, and trusted that Jehovah, if honoured by adequate external rites, would always be the Champion of Israel. Amos insists on the responsibility of being God's people: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." To a cruel and selfish people, however externally devout, "The Day of Jehovah is darkness and not light."[1] God is a moral being, and requires above all else personal and social morality in His people. Acts vii. 42 f. appeals to v. 25 f. as a proof of the ingrained depravity of Israel, and Acts xv. 16 f. quotes LXX.[2] of ix. 11 f. as a prediction of the universality of the gospel.

5. Obadiah.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Nothing is known of Obadiah. As to the book, three things are clear; the utterance on Edom in Jeremiah makes use either of verses 1–9 or of the original upon which they are based[3]; 10–14 refer to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586; 1–9 and 15–21 refer to two quite different situations, and are probably of different origin.

It is not clear whether 10–14 is to be connected with 1–9 or with 15–21; nor is the Jeremianic authorship of Jeremiah xlix. 7–22 universally accepted.[4]

The most probable account of the composition of the book is as follows:—

Verses 1–9 contain an ancient pre-exilic oracle on Edom, the occasion of which cannot be determined; verses 10–21 are exilic. There may also be later additions.

[1] iii. 2, v. 18.

[2] Reading *'adam*, "Man," for Edom.

[3] 1^{b}–4 = Jeremiah xlix. 14–16; 5 = Jeremiah 9; *cf.* also 6 with Jeremiah 10^{3}, and 8 with Jeremiah 7.

[4] *e.g.*, not by Giesebrecht.

So substantially G. A. Smith, *The Twelve*, ii. 172. Orelli, etc., regard the book as a single pre-exilic work. Wellhausen, on the other hand, regards both sections as post-exilic. Sepharad, v. 20, has been identified with Saparda in Babylonia (Schrader), a view consistent with an exilic date; and with Saparda in Bithynia or Galatia (Cheyne, Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, etc., 483), a view requiring a post-exilic date, as these countries were not held by Assyria or Babylon, but formed part of the Persian Empire; LXX. has *Ephratha* for Sepharad, and the text of 19, 20 is much corrupted. Volck dates in reign of Joram of Judah.

(b) *Contents.*—1–6, 8, 9, Proud Edom to be destroyed by the nations.

7, Edom is driven out of her territory by treacherous allies. Probably a later addition referring to the occupation of Edom by Nabatean Arabs in the post-exilic period.

10–14, Edom exults over the Fall of Jerusalem, and assists the invaders.

15–21, In the day of Jehovah, when He deals with all the nations, Edom is utterly destroyed by Israel, which re-occupies all its former territory, including Edom.

Obadiah is not quoted in N.T.

6. Jonah.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The book of Jonah is anonymous, and makes no statement as to its date. It is a narrative about Jonah, and does not profess to have been written by him. Jonah ben Amittai, the subject of the narrative, is only mentioned elsewhere in O.T. in ii. Kings xiv. 25, "He [Jeroboam II., *c.* 783–743] restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah, according to the word of Jehovah, the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant, Jonah ben Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher" [a border town of Zebulun; Joshua xix. 13].

The story is vivid and detailed, and if it were a simple narrative of facts, we might suppose that it was written, at any rate, on Jonah's authority, and while the experience was still fresh in his memory. Accordingly the editors of the Book of the Twelve Prophets[1] place the book fifth.

But the internal evidence shows that the book is much later,

[1] See § 1.

certainly post-exilic. It has been assigned to various dates in the Persian and Greek periods, *i.e.*, between B.C. 536 and B.C. 150.

The idiom and vocabulary of the book are those of the latest period of O.T. Hebrew; and it has a marked affinity with Ecclesiastes, *c.* B.C. 250, and contains many Aramaic words.

The book has many parallels with post-exilic literature. The statement that God made the sea and the dry land, i. 9, is probably a reminiscence of Genesis i. 9, where the same word *yabbāshâ* is used. The prayer or psalm, ii. 2–10, is mainly a cento of phrases from the Psalms, and partly from post-exilic psalms, such as cxlii.

Compare also

Verse 2 = Psalms xviii. 5, 6, cxx. 1.
Verse 3b = Psalm xlii. 7b.
Verse 4a = Psalm xxxi. 22a, Lamentations iii. 54b.
Verse 5a = Psalms xviii. 4, lxix. 1, cxvi. 3.
Verse 7a = Psalm cxlii. 3a.
Verse 9 = Psalms iii. 8, l. 14.

And iii. 9, "Who knoweth if God will turn and repent," with Joel ii. 14, "Who knoweth if he will turn and repent." In iv. 2, "A gracious God, merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil," is probably based on Exodus xxxiv. 6; *cf.* Joel ii. 13, Psalms lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, which are based on the same passage.

Although there are many vivid details, they are such as might be suggested by ordinary experiences, a storm at sea, or exposure to the sun; there are none of those casual allusions to time, place or person, which we expect in a man's account of his own experiences; we are not told the name of the king of Nineveh, nor anything about the route from the great fish to that city.

Moreover the phrase "king of Nineveh" was never used of the Assyrian kings, and its use, together with iii. 3, "Nineveh was an exceeding great city," implies that the Assyrian empire had long since passed away.

Budde has suggested that the book is an excerpt from the *Midrash* or free expansion of the Book of Kings, which is commonly assumed as the main source of Chronicles.

(b) *Contents.*—Jonah attempting to escape from the mission to Nineveh is swallowed by a great fish. He is released, preaches at Nineveh, the people repent and are forgiven, at which he is angry, and is rebuked by Jehovah.

The Psalm ii. 2–10 is sometimes supposed to be a later addition.

(c) *Significance of the Book of Jonah, and use in N.T.*—The book is commonly regarded as an allegory or parable. Prof. G. A. Smith writes[1]: "Nor does this book . . . claim to be real history. On the contrary, it offers us all the marks of the parable or allegory . . . we really sin against the intention of the author, and the purposes of the spirit which inspired him, when we wilfully interpret the book as real history."

Our Lord's casual references[2] neither state nor imply that the book is history. Again, Prof. G. A. Smith writes[3]: "We do not believe that our Lord had any thought of confirming or not confirming the historic character of the story. His purpose was purely one of exhortation, and we feel the grounds of that exhortation to be just as strong when we have proven the Book of Jonah to be a parable. Christ is using an illustration: it surely matters not whether that illustration be drawn from the realms of fact or of poetry."

The book represents the broader spirit of post-exilic Judaism, it protests against the narrow exclusiveness which culminated in Pharisaism, by teaching that the Gentiles might repent and be forgiven; it prepared the way for the doctrine of universal salvation by faith, and connects the great prophets with Christ.

The book also furnishes a most conspicuous example of the conditional character of prophetic prediction; promises might be forfeited by backsliding, threats might be averted by repentance. Jonah states most categorically,[4] "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown"; but the people repent, and God does not overthrow the city.

[1] *The Twelve*, ii. 498–500.
[2] Matthew xii. 39 ff., xvi. 4, Luke xi. 29 ff.
[3] *The Twelve*, ii. 508, and *cf.* context.
[4] iii. 4.

7. **Micah.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—According to i. 1 Micah prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, *c.* 740 to *c.* 695; and Jeremiah xxvi. 18 f. quotes iii. 12 as having been uttered in the reign of Hezekiah, and as having led the king to repentance. Chapters i.–iii. clearly belong to the period of the Fall of Samaria; iv.–vii. are the subject of much controversy. Cheyne[1] writes: "It is becoming more and more doubtful whether more than two or three fragments of the heterogeneous collection of fragments in chapters iv.–vii. can have come from" Micah. G. A. Smith, however, challenges this statement,[2] and calls attention to recent monographs[3] which defend the substantial integrity of the book. It is difficult to resist the impression that there is a marked contrast in style and thought between i.–iii. and iv.–vii., which suggests a different age and author for the latter section; but it is equally difficult to estimate the evidential value of such an impression. See further Contents on the several sections.

Micah is styled "the Morasthite,"[4] probably as belonging to the "Moresheth-gath" of i. 14, which Jerome identifies with a "Morasthi" existing in his time to the east of Eleutheropolis, *i.e.*, in the Shephelah, or low hills on the western outskirts of Judah.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—The beginning of Micah's ministry has been placed as early as the reign of Ahaz, *c.* 736, and its close as late as that of Manasseh, *i.e.*, after *c.* 695. His ministry may have been either an immediate sequel to that of Hosea, covering the reigns of the last kings of Israel, or it may have partly coincided with and partly extended beyond the last half of Isaiah's ministry, thus covering the reign of Hezekiah and the accession of Manasseh. For these periods see Hosea, (b), and Isaiah.

[1] Introd. to W. R. SMITH'S *Prophets*, xxiii.
[2] *The Twelve*, I. xxiv.
[3] By WILDEBOER, VON RYSSEL, and ELHORST.
[4] Both in i. 1 and Jer. xxvi. 18, "*Micaiah* the M." in some texts.

(c) *Contents.*—i.–iii., Doom of Samaria and Jerusalem for the sins of the nation, especially social wrongs committed by the rulers, whose bribes are accepted by priests and prophets, and the idolatrous worship of the high places.

The prophecy of restoration, ii. 12 f., interrupts the connection, and is generally held to be out of place,[1] and by many to be a post-exilic addition,[2] parallel to sections of II. Isaiah.

The threats against Samaria[3] seem to fix the date of i. before its capture, 722; but, as a document, at any rate, it may have been written about that date. An Assyrian inscription affords some slight ground for doubting whether Samaria was destroyed after this capture,[4] if not the chapter may be later.

Chapters ii., iii. show no consciousness of imminent danger, and belong to some period after 722, when the fear of an immediate Assyrian advance had died away, and there seemed no prospect of any speedy renewal of the Assyrian invasion.

iv. 1–5, Jerusalem the centre of Revelation for all nations in the Messianic Era of universal peace.

Cf. on Isaiah ii. 2–4 with which 1–3 is nearly identical.

iv. 6–v. 15, Deliverance of the nation, after the capture of Jerusalem and the carrying captive to Babylon, by a Righteous Ruler from Bethlehem, who shall lay waste Assyria. God will deliver the land from superstition, and enable it to dispense with horses, chariots, and fortresses.

This section is a compilation of separate fragments, some of which are not Micah's. The references to the Assyrians may well be Micah's, written perhaps at the time of Sennacherib's invasion. The "Babylon" clause in iv. 10 is generally held to be a later addition. Nowack accepts only iv. 9 f. (except the Babylon clause), 14, v. 9–13 as Micah's.

vi. 1–vii. 6, Jehovah's controversy with Israel; His demand for "mercy and not sacrifice" illustrated by Balaam's answer to Balak. Fraud in business to be punished by bad seasons. Persecution of the righteous, and utter social depravity.

The picture in vii. 1–6 seems too dark for the reign of Hezekiah, and these verses are often referred to the reign of Manasseh, with which vi. 1–8 may be connected by the reference to child sacrifice.[5] Even if written under Manasseh, the author may still be Micah; but the difference of style and thought rather points to a different author.

[1] DRIVER, G. A. SMITH, STEINER, etc.

[2] CHEYNE, WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK.

[3] i. 1, 6.

[4] *Samsimuruna* in Sennacherib's inscription, Taylor Prism, KELLNER'S *Isaiah*, 34, is sometimes identified with Samaria.

[5] vi. 7, vii. 2, *cf.* ii. Kings xxi. 6, 16; but Ahaz also practised child sacrifice, ii. Kings xvi. 3.

vii. 7–20, Zion is suffering for sin; yet confidently expects from God pardon and deliverance, victory and universal dominion.

According to G. A. Smith,[1] "a Psalm composed of little pieces from various dates," from before the Fall of Samaria, 722, to soon after the Exile. Others also think that the references to Assyria, Gilead, and Bashan best suit a date not long before Nehemiah.[2] Driver, on the other hand, inclines to assign the passage to Micah in the time of Manasseh.[3]

(d) *Significance of the Book of Micah, and Use in N.T.*— The book, both in i.–iii. and elsewhere, insists on the leading themes of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the protests against the high places and their corrupt rites,[4] against social wrong, sanctioned by the ministers of religion.[5] Even if vi. 1–9 be a later passage, in which these doctrines are more thoroughly thought out and carefully formulated, it, at any rate, furnishes an eloquent and explicit statement of the demand of eighth century prophecy for a moral life and spiritual religion rather than external ritual. "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"[6] The wrongful accumulation of great estates is specially mentioned as a flagrant social evil.[7] Micah, like most of the canonical prophets, is in antagonism to the prophetic order.[8] If iv. and v. are Micah's, or even of the reign of Manasseh, we have an early suggestion of the apocalyptic visions of the last things,

[1] *The Twelve*, i. 374.
[2] WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK.
[3] 313, quoting Elhorst in support of the view.
[4] i. 1–9, v. 12–14. [5] ii., iii.
[6] vi. 6–8, *cf.* Psalm l. 8–15, probably post-exilic.
[7] ii. 1–3. [8] iii. 5–11.

connected in v. 2 with the personal deliverer, the Messiah. In v. 10–14, with its condemnation of horses and chariots, images and Asherim, we have a parallel to Deuteronomic passages.[1] Again, vii. 8–20, with its confession of sin, and confidence in the pardoning love of God to the penitent, its tender passion of prayer, is one of the passages in which O.T. Revelation culminates, and most nearly anticipates the evangelical teaching of the gospel.

Micah v. 2 is appealed to in Matthew ii. 6 as an authority for the statement that the Messiah is to be born at Bethlehem.[2]

8. **Nahum.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—In i. 1 Nahum is styled "the Elkoshite," which probably means "man of Elkosh." Elkosh is unknown, but there are various conjectures. Jerome mentions "Helkesei" in Galilee, and Capernaum (=village of Nahum) seems to connect Nahum with Galilee. If so, he was a northern refugee in Jerusalem. Epiphanius, *c.* A.D. 360, locates Elkosh in the south of Judah. Some moderns find Elkosh in the modern Alkush, two days' journey to the north of the site of Nineveh, thus making Nahum an Israelite captive in Assyria.

The book was written between the sack of No-Amon, the Egyptian Thebes, *c.* 663, which it describes, and the Fall of Nineveh, *c.* 606, which it predicts. The precise date is uncertain. Perhaps the vivid pictures of imminent ruin reflect the last agonies of Assyria, in the period just before the fall of its capital.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—This period coincides with the latter years of Josiah's reign, after the Deuteronomic reformation had secured comparative purity of life and worship, and after the retreat of the Scythians had left Judah a breathing space of peace and prosperity.

For 663–621 see § 10.

[1] Deut. xvi. 21, 22, xvii. 16; *cf.* Hosea iii. 4.

[2] *Cf.* John vii. 42.

(c) *Contents.*—i., Psalm describing a Theophany in which Jehovah destroys the enemies of His people.

Cheyne[1] and others regard i. as post-exilic. Bickell, G. B. Gray, etc., find in it a mutilated and distorted alphabetic acrostic. Some emendation is necessary, especially in 11–15, where the present text requires "thee" to stand for Judah and Assyria alternately in a most impossible fashion.

ii., iii., Description of the siege and sack of Nineveh.

ii. 2 is either a gloss or should be taken with i.

(d) *Significance.*—Nahum, like Habakkuk, is remarkable for the absence of any reference to the sin of Judah. Judah, the righteous sufferer, is contrasted with its wicked oppressor. This attitude may be due to the Deuteronomic reformation, or Nahum and Habakkuk may represent a school of prophets in partial opposition to Jeremiah and the main line of prophecy.

Nahum is not quoted in N.T.

9. **Habakkuk.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Nothing is known of Habakkuk, except what may be gathered from this book.

The LXX. ascription of "Bel and the Dragon" to Habakkuk; the account in "Bel, etc.," of an angel carrying Habakkuk by his hair from Judah to Babylon, to give his dinner to Daniel in the lion's den; and the information given by Epiphanius, are unhistorical. The statement that Habakkuk was a Levite is a deduction from the presence in the book of a Psalm with the musical directions of the Levitical choir.

The description of the Chaldæans[2] shows that the book was written when they were a prominent power, *i.e.*, after the revival of the Chaldæan empire in 625, and before the Fall of Babylon in 536, probably before the Fall of Jerusalem in 586. The exact date depends on the interpretation of the book.[3] If the oppressor of Israel is the Assyrian, the date would be before the Fall of Nineveh, *c.* 625–607; if the Egyptian, between Pharaoh Necho's victory at Megiddo and his defeat at Carchemish, *c.* 606; if the Chaldæan, after the deportation of Jehoiachin, *c.* 597–586.

Even if i. 5–11 is omitted (so Nowack, see below) there is still sufficient ground for regarding Habakkuk as a contemporary of Jeremiah. The book reflects the conditions of the closing years of the Jewish monarchy.

[1] *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 112. [2] i. 5–11. [3] See below.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.—Cf.* Jeremiah.

(c) *Contents.*—i., ii., The Vindication of Judah and the Punishment of its Oppressor.

The statement of contents depends upon the interpretation. We give the three main views with an analysis according to each.

(α) Judah's sin will be punished by the Chaldæans, who in their turn will be punished.[1]

i. 1–4, Social corruption of Judah, in which the righteous Jew, çaddîq, is oppressed by the wicked Jew, rāshā'.

5–11, The destructive might of the Chaldæans, who are raised up to punish the wicked Jews.

12–17, Appeal to Jehovah against the unmeasured cruelty of the Chaldæans, the wicked, rāshā', who are even less righteous, çaddîq, than the Jews.

ii. 1–4, Deliverance promised.

5–20, Woes against the Chaldæans for their cruelty, debauchery, and idolatry.

This view takes the text just as it stands, but involves the following difficulties: The "wicked" is in one place a portion of the Jews, in another, the Chaldæans; i. 5–11 breaks the connection; in i. 6 the Chaldæans are a new power to be raised up; in ii. 5–20 the oppressors are spoken of as well known and of long standing.

(β) Nothing is said of the sin of Judah; the prophet dwells on the wrongs done to Judah and other nations by the Chaldæans, and announces the coming chastisement of the oppressor. i. 5–11 is either a later addition,[2] or to be placed before i. 1–4.[3]

[i. 5–11, Chaldæan oppression.]

i. 1–4, Social disorder in Judah, sufferings of the righteous, çaddîq, Jews, at the hands of the wicked, rāshā', Chaldæans.

5–11, Interpolated expansion of the picture of Chaldæan cruelty.

12–17, Appeal against the wicked Chaldæans on behalf of the righteous Jews.

ii. 1–4, Deliverance.

5–20, Woes against the Chaldæans.

The chief objection to this view is that i. 5–11 neither furnishes a suitable exordium, nor seems a probable interpolation.

(γ) Nothing is said of the sin of Judah, the prophet dwells on the wrongs inflicted either by the Assyrians[4] or by the Egyptians.[5] The oppressor in his turn is to be punished by the Chaldæans; i. 5–11 is to be placed after ii. 4.

i. 1–4, Sufferings of the righteous Jews at the hands of the wicked Assyrians or Egyptians.

12–17, Appeal against the wicked oppressor on behalf of the righteous Jews.

ii. 1–4, Deliverance.

i. 5–11, Through the prowess of the Chaldæans.

ii. 5–20, Woes against the oppressor, Assyrian or Egyptian.

[1] So DRIVER, DAVIDSON, and most critics. [2] WELLHAUSEN, etc.
[3] GIESEBRECHT, etc. [4] BUDDE, etc. [5] G. A. SMITH.

The chief objections to this view are the difficulty of accounting for the transposition of i. 5–11; and the absence of any mention of the Assyrians or Egyptians. The part or whole of ii. 9–20 is considered by Kuenen, etc., not to be Habakkuk's.

iii., A psalm provided with heading, "Prayer of Habakkuk," etc., and subscription as in the Psalter.

iii. 2–15, Theophany in which Jehovah delivers His anointed —the people Israel—from the wicked.

16–19, Expression of faith in the depths of affliction.

The heading and subscription suggest that iii. was taken from a collection of Psalms, and that the ascription to Habakbuk is a conjecture of an editor. The term "anointed" *māshîaḥ* for Israel seems post-exilic, in pre-exilic literature *māshîaḥ* is the actual king. Hence Cheyne and others regard iii. as post-exilic.

(d) *Significance and use in N.T.*—Habakkuk, like Nahum, emphasises not Judah's sin, but the contrast between righteous Judah and her wicked oppressor, an attitude very different from that of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In iii. 17 f. the spirit of trustful acceptance of suffering finds its supreme expression in "Though the fig tree shall not blossom . . . yet will I rejoice in Jehovah."

Paul in Romans i. 17 and Galatians iii. 11, uses ii. 4 in the LXX. form, "The righteous shall live by faith;" the Hebrew is rather "by faithfulness." *Cf.* also Hebrews x. 37, 38; also i. 5 with Acts xiii. 41.

10. Zephaniah.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The opening verse describes the book as "The word of Jehovah which came unto Zephaniah, the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah." The contents confirm this statement, and the picture of social and religious corruption suggests a date before the reforms of Josiah, *i.e.*, 639–621. Probably Hezekiah is the king, and the genealogy is given in order to introduce the name of this distinguished ancestor.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—The efforts of Isaiah and Hezekiah for purity of life and worship were followed by a reaction under Manasseh and Amon. During the minority

of Josiah, the prophetic party, under Zephaniah and his younger contemporary, Jeremiah, were gathering strength for a new movement, which culminated in the reforms of Josiah. Abroad the Assyrian empire was in the throes of dissolution, Egypt was not formidable, and the minor Syrian states were left to their own devices. Western Asia, however, was subject to the ravages of Scythian hordes, who reached the frontiers of Egypt.

(c) *Contents.*—The book is occupied with the Doom of Judah and Jerusalem and all nations in the Day of Jehovah.

i., Judah and Jerusalem are punished for corrupt worship,[1] social injustice,[2] and disbelief in a living God, they "say in their heart, Jehovah will do neither good nor evil."

ii., Doom of Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopians, and Assyria.

iii. 1–13, Doom of Jerusalem and all nations. Deliverance of a purified remnant, "a humble and poor people" in Jerusalem.

iii. 9, 10 are perhaps a later addition. Doubts have also been raised as to every verse in ii. and iii., especially ii. 8–11 (Moab and Ammon) and iii. 8–20.

iii., 14–20, A post-exilic lyric in the style of Second Isaiah, celebrating the restoration of the exiles to Zion, and the Divine Presence in their midst.

(d) *Significance.*—Zephaniah is a link between Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the gathering of the nations for destruction,[3] we have the germ of the apocalyptic visions of later prophets.

There is no quotation from Zephaniah in N.T.

11. **Haggai.**

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—The book contains four utterances, each separately ascribed to Haggai, and dated in the second year of Darius (*i.e.*, Darius I., Hystaspis), B.C. 520; on the 1st of the sixth, the 21st of the seventh, and (the last two) on the 24th of the ninth month, *i.e.*, about September to December. Probably they were committed to writing about the time of delivery. The book frames these utter-

[1] i. 4–6. [2] i. 9. [3] iii. 8.

ances in a very brief narrative, and Haggai is spoken of throughout in the third person; it may have been compiled by the prophet himself, or by one of his hearers. In addition to the facts recorded of Haggai in this book, Ezra v. 1, vi. 14 tell us that he, with Zechariah, persuaded the Jews to rebuild the Temple.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Sixteen years before, after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, many Jews returned[1] to Judah, and settled there as subjects of Persia, under the Davidic Prince, Zerubbabel, and the High Priest, Joshua. They were harassed by hostile neighbours, who induced Cyrus to forbid the building of the Temple, after the foundations had been laid. The recent accession of Darius I. held out prospects of a change of the Persian policy in Judah, while numerous revolts raised hopes of great internal changes issuing in the full deliverance of Israel.

(c) *Contents.*—The First Utterance, i. 1–11, urged them to rebuild the Temple, which they had neglected for their own houses. A recent drought had been sent as a punishment.

A short narrative, i. 12–15, tells us that three weeks later the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua set to work on the Temple.

The Second Utterance, ii. 1–9, promises that the new Temple, enriched with the wealth of the Gentiles, and blessed with peace, shall be more glorious than Solomon's.

The Third Utterance, ii. 10–19, teaches that their neglect of the Temple tainted and blasted all their life, but that they will be blessed for their new zeal.

The Fourth Utterance, ii. 20–23, announces that, in the approaching overthrow of the nations of the earth, Zerubbabel will be the favoured and protected Servant of Jehovah.

(d) *Significance and Use in N.T.*—The new energy which Haggai inspired was a necessary preliminary to the work

[1] But *cf.* chapter on Chron., Ezra, and Neh.

of Ezra and Nehemiah. Haggai and Zechariah, § 12, must be reckoned amongst the founders of Judaism. Hebrews xii. 26 quotes ii. 6, the "shaking" of all things.

12. The Prophecies of Zechariah, Zechariah i.–viii.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—These chapters contain a series of utterances, each separately ascribed to Zechariah, and dated from the second year of Darius (*i.e.*, Darius I., Hystaspis), B.C. 520, the eighth month, about August, to the fourth year of Darius, B.C. 518, the 4th day of the ninth month, about September. The first person is used freely throughout, and all the evidence shows that these chapters were composed by Zechariah himself soon after the latest of the prophecies. In addition to the facts recorded of Zechariah here, Ezra v. 1, vi. 14 tell us that he, with Haggai, persuaded the Jews to rebuild the Temple.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.* — As the prophecies of Zechariah were uttered within a few months of those of Haggai, the historical circumstances are substantially the same.

(c) *Contents.* — Second Year of Darius, eighth month (August, 520).

i. 1–6, Appeal to the fulfilment of ancient prophecy.

Second Year of Darius, eleventh month, 24th day (November, 520).

i. 7–17, Vision of Angelic Horsemen, who report that the shaking announced in Haggai ii. 20–23 has not taken place. Promise of great prosperity to Jerusalem.

i. 18–21, Vision of Four Smiths, who file away the Four Horns, which had scattered Judah. The horns and smiths are nations, not to be more exactly defined.

ii. 1–5, Vision of Man with Measuring-line, forbidden to draw any fixed limits for the future city.

ii. 6–13, *Exilic Lyric on the Restoration of the Jews.*

The situation is that of the Exile; the ideas and style resemble II. Isaiah. The lyric was either used by Zechariah or inserted by an editor, as a suitable expansion of the teaching of the preceding vision.

iii., Vision of the High Priest accused by Satan, but puri-

fied, acquitted, and honoured by Jehovah. The Branch or Messiah, *i.e.*, Zerubbabel.

iv., Vision of the Seven-branched Candlestick supplied with oil from the Two Olive Trees, symbolising the grace given to the Jews [? through Zerubbabel and Joshua to build the Temple].

iv. 6–10 interrupts the context, and seems to belong to an earlier stage of the building of the Temple than November, 520. Probably an earlier utterance of Zechariah placed here, at or after, the compilation of the book.

v. 1–4, Vision of the Flying Roll, which carries a destroying curse to sinners.

v. 5–11, Vision of Wickedness—as a Woman—shut up in an ephah-measure, carried away to the land of Shinar (Babylon).

vi. 1–8, Vision of the Four Chariots, which go through the earth to execute God's judgments.

vi. 9–15, The Crowning of the Messianic Prince, the Branch, Zerubbabel.

The text, as it stands, refers 11–13 to Joshua, and makes him "the Branch"; but the plural "crowns," 11, and the "both," 13 show that two persons were originally referred to. The "Branch" elsewhere, Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6, xxxiii. 15, 16, is a Davidic prince, specially Zerubbabel, Zechariah iii. 8; and the builder of the Temple is Zerubbabel, Zechariah iv. Hence the text has been reconstructed, and is translated, G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 308 and note: "Thou shalt . . . make a crown, and set it on the head of [Zerubbabel] . . . and he shall wear the royal majesty and sit and rule upon his throne, and [Joshua] shall be priest on his right hand, and there will be a counsel of peace between the two of them."

This utterance, which regards the building of the Temple as still future, is probably out of place here, and was delivered before the preceding prophecies.

Fourth Year of Darius, ninth month, 4th day (September, 518).

vii. 1–7, Shall fasts continue? Unreal fasts.

vii. 8–14, The former ruin of Israel the punishment of oppression.

viii. 1–17, The future happiness and peace of Jerusalem.

viii. 18–23, The abolition of fasts. All nations shall worship at Jerusalem.

(d) *Significance and Use in N.T.*—Zechariah was commissioned to enforce the lessons and continue the work of the older prophets. They and their hearers had passed away, but the Word and purpose of God remained.[1] Zechariah has reminiscences of his predecessors; his formula, "And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I said," is found in Amos vii. 8, viii. 2, Jeremiah i. 11, 13; and his message, "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor," is an echo of the teaching of the great pre-exilic prophets.[2] But in Isaiah's time sacrifices were offered as a substitute for righteousness, and the prophets were indifferent to or even denounced ritual and sanctuary. Now the best hopes for social righteousness lay in devotion to the Temple, hence Zechariah is zealous for it and its priesthood. The older prophets had announced that the sin of Israel must be punished by the overthrow of the nation. Zechariah knows that the Jews are still sinful, but this sin may be purged away by the destruction of individuals, by the removal of wickedness and the purification of the people.[3] The ancient hope of deliverance through the house of David revived and fastened itself on Zerubbabel;[4] this Messianic hope connects itself, as of old, with victory over the Gentiles, but also with the homage of the Gentiles to Jehovah at Jerusalem,[5] which shall be "the city of truth" and the temple hill "the holy mountain"; and "there shall sit in the streets of Jerusalem old men and women, each with staff in hand because of great age; and the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof,"[6] and all this is to be brought about, "Not

[1] i. 4–6, vii. 7.

[2] *Cf.* also ii. 13 with Zeph. i. 7; viii. 3 with Isaiah i. 26; viii. 18–23 with Isaiah ii. 1–4, Micah iv. 1–3.

[3] iii., v.

[4] See above on vi. 11–13.

[5] ii. 11–13, viii. 18–23.

[6] viii. 4, 5.

by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith Jehovah Sabaoth." [1]

In Zechariah, however, Hebrew prophecy begins to lose its sense of immediate communion with God; the prophet receives his messages through visions and angels; and it is Satan who denounces the sin of Israel, symbolised by the filthy garments of the High Priest.

Zechariah viii. 9–12 repeats the teaching of Haggai i. 1–11, ii. 15–19, that indifference to the rebuilding of the Temple brought calamity, especially failure of crops and vintage. The unwelcome peace among the nations, i. 11, is a reference to the shaking of the nations in the interests of Israel promised in Haggai ii. 6, 7, 21. Another parallel with post-exilic literature is the denunciation of the sham fast in vii. 5 as compared with Isaiah lviii.[2]

The N.T. contains only a few traces of these chapters, chiefly in the Apocalypse.

13. Zechariah ix.–xiv.

(a) *Date and Authorship.*—Owing to the accident that Zechariah xi. 13 is quoted in Matthew xxvii. 9 as from Jeremiah, criticism early [3] suggested that these chapters were not the work of Zechariah. Apart from this, there are many striking differences between the two parts of the book, which show that they are not by the same author.

In i.–viii., the sections have headings specifying the date and author—Zechariah; Zechariah speaks in the first person; almost every paragraph has numerous points of contact with B.C. 520–518. There are many visions, in which angels play an important part.

In ix.–xiv., either there are no headings, or, if there are, they are silent as to date and authorship; the author rarely speaks in the first person. Where he does, it is not, as in the

[1] iv. 6, *cf.* Isaiah xxxi. 3, "The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit."

[2] Dated by CHEYNE, B.C. 450–444.

[3] JOSEPH MEDE, 1632.

first part, in his own, but in some symbolic character, *e.g.*, the Good Shepherd; there are no points of contact with B.C. 520–518, but rather with other periods (see below); there are neither visions nor angels.

There are also diversities of vocabulary, style, and ideas.

Criticism started with an attempt to ascribe these chapters to Jeremiah; *i.e.*, also to assign them to the period B.C. 626–586. They are certainly not by Jeremiah, nor do they belong to his period, but some critics still regard them as pre-exilic. Ephraim, ix. 10, Assyria, x. 10, Damascus, ix. 1, and Hamath, ix. 2, are spoken of as in existence, which seems to imply a date before the Fall of Samaria, B.C. 722. The carrying away of captives from Gilead, x. 10, has been connected with the captivity of Gilead by Tiglath-Pileser, ii. Kings xv. 29. The "three shepherds cut off in one month," Zechariah xi. 8, have been explained of ii. Kings xv. 13–15, where Zechariah and Shallum perish in a short time, the *third* shepherd being some unknown pretender. The necessity for this sheer conjecture shows that there is no real connection between the two passages. On these and similar grounds the whole or part of ix.–xi. with xiii. 7–9 are sometimes referred to the last days of the kingdom of Israel; and xii.–xiv. (less xiii. 7–9) to the last days of the kingdom of Judah, for the mourning in xii. 11 is often understood of the mourning for Josiah, ii. Chronicles xxxv. 24, 25.

But, on the whole, a closer examination of this appendix shows that both sections are post-exilic, at any rate in their present form. In ix. 13, *Greece* is mentioned as the great enemy of the Jews, and the Greeks first became a great neighbouring power after the conquests of Alexander, B.C. 333. The idea of the Messianic King as Prince of Peace, ix. 9, would be very remarkable in a pre-exilic work dealing with the impending ruin of Israel and Judah. The idea is even more developed than in Isaiah x. 6, often regarded as post-exilic.

From xii. onward, the marks of post-exilic authorship are numerous and convincing. In xii. 1 Israel stands for Judah;

the importance given to "the house of Levi" by being placed side by side with "the house of David," xii. 12, 13, reminds us of the exalted position of the priesthood after the exile; the utter contempt poured upon prophecy, xiii. 2–6, suggests a late period when genuine prophets had ceased to appear; xiv. is an apocalypse of an advanced type; the importance attached to the Feast of Tabernacles, xiv. 16, to the sanctity of pots and bells, xiv, 20, 21, to the absence of foreigners from the Temple, xiv. 21, and the universal observance of Jewish feasts by Gentiles, point to the ritual of the post-exilic period.

Hence ix.–xiv. is, as a whole, post-exilic. The reference to Greece, ix. 13, points to a date in the Greek period, after B.C. 333, for at any rate a part of the chapters. Some, however, obtain an earlier date by attributing this reference to an editor.

Thus the appendix belongs either to the Persian or Greek period, but its exact date or dates cannot be certainly fixed; nor can we be sure whether ix.–xi. with xiii. 7–9, and xii.–xiv. (less xiii. 7–9) are by the same or by two different authors.

Hence Ephraim and Joseph are only used in a quasi-symbolic sense, Judah and the restored Jews claim to represent Ephraim and Joseph, just as they appropriate the term Israel. Assyria is either used as a geographical term, or applied to the Greek kingdom of Syria. The later application was very natural, seeing that "Syria" is simply a Greek contraction for "Assyria." These usages can be paralleled from Ezra vi. 22, Judith i. 1.

Probably the appendix, together with the equally anonymous "Malachi," was placed, because of its anonymity, at the end of the Book of the Twelve Prophets, *i.e.*, after Zechariah; and thus came to be written consecutively with Zechariah and included under the same title.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—For Persian period see § 11 Haggai; for Greek period see chapter v. § 10, (b); *cf.* Contents below.

(c) *Contents.*—IX.–XI. with XIII. 7–9.

ix. 1–8, The Temple protected when Phœnicia and Philistia are devastated. A remnant of the Philistines converted.

ix. 9–17, The Messianic King brings peace and prosperity to Israel by giving victory over the Greeks.

x., Victory and restoration for Judah and Ephraim.

xi., with xiii. 7–9, In a time of calamity the people were oppressed by their rulers or "shepherds"; the prophet representing Jehovah "cut off three shepherds in one month" and undertook to rule the people, "feed the flock," with two staves, "Grace" and "Union,"[1] symbolising the covenant of Jehovah with man and the union of Judah and Israel. But, saith the prophet, "I was weary of them, and they also loathed me." He relinquished his task, broke his staves, and received for his hire thirty shekels, the price of a slave, which he cast into the Temple treasury.[2] Then Jehovah delivers over His people to a good-for-nothing[3] shepherd, who neglects and devours the flock, and is punished. Then the prophet, "my shepherd, the man that is my fellow, saith Jehovah Sabaoth," is slain and the flock scattered; finally, a third part of the people are purified and reconciled to God.

The action is symbolic, the prophet representing in turn very different actors in an apocalyptic drama, first Jehovah, then the worthless shepherd, then the faithful shepherd who is martyred.

XII. 1–XIII. 6, XIV.

xii. 1–xiii. 6, Siege of Jerusalem by Gentiles allied with *Judah;* the assailants are discomfited, Judah is reconciled to Jerusalem; both are delivered, Judah *first*, that Jerusalem may not be puffed up. The city mourns for a martyr, whom it has put to death; and is purified by a fountain opened for

[1] So G. A. Smith, Book of the Twelve Prophets; A.V., R.V. "Beauty," "Bands."

[2] In xi. 13 read "treasury" *'ôçār* for "potter" *yôçēr* with G. A. Smith, etc.

[3] A.V. "idol," R.V., G. A. Smith, "worthless," xi. 17.

sin and uncleanness, and by the cutting off of idols, prophets, and the unclean spirit.

xiv., Another siege of Jerusalem by the Gentiles; the city is actually taken and sacked, when Jehovah appears upon the Mount of Olives, which splits asunder, and the Jews escape through the chasm. Living waters flow east and west from the city, and the rest of the land becomes a plain. The besiegers are destroyed. The remnant of the Gentiles shall go up every year to worship Jehovah at the feast of Tabernacles, and if they neglect will be punished with plagues. Everything in Jerusalem, down to the pots, shall be holy.

If we translate with R.V. text, "Judah also shall fight against Jerusalem," we must suppose that verses 13 and 14, which in any case interrupt the context, have either been transferred here from the beginning of xii., or have been added by an editor to connect xiv. and xii., *cf.* G. A. Smith, i. l. Driver takes the rendering of R.V.Mg., "Judah shall fight at Jerusalem," but even this is quite alien to the context.

(d) *Significance and Use in N.T.*—In Zechariah ix.–xiv. passages of ancient prophecy may be embedded, but we are mostly in the region of the apocalyptic visions of later Judaism. In the picture of the future, Judah and Jerusalem, and the Temple, the circumstances of the writer's own time, are strangely blended with vast armies of all nations attacking the Holy City, with supernatural plagues and transformations of mountain and rivers, with vague symbolism of shepherds, and with the phantoms of dead peoples and empires, Ephraim and Assyria. This confusion of symbols from all sources makes it difficult to discover any certain indications of the actual conditions of the author and his times. The martyr of xii. 10 and perhaps also of xiii. 7 did not necessarily belong to the author's own time, but may have been someone whose death burdened the conscience of Israel for many generations; perhaps the innocent sufferer whose fate suggested Isaiah liii.

Yet xii. 2, 7, xiv. 14 indicate a time of estrangement between Jerusalem and the house of David on the one hand, and the rest of Judah on the other; and xiii. 1–6

shows the prophetic order in the last stage of decay; the "wounds" in 6 were perhaps self-mutilations connected with superstitious ritual.

The Messianic pictures become more detailed and explicit. The post-exilic type of saint was the humble, pious, God-fearing man, the *'ānî;* so, ix. 9, the King comes to Zion "vindicated and victorious, meek and riding upon an ass."[1] In xii. 8, "The house of David shall be as God."

The overthrow of the Gentiles and their homage to Jehovah are still dwelt on, but with the grimness of apocalypse; the heathen hosts moulder into rottenness as they stand; the survivors are compelled by dread of drought to be regular attendants at the Feast of Tabernacles, xiv. 12–19.

Finally the ethical zeal for righteousness connects itself, after the manner of the Pharisees, with the ceremonial cleanness of material objects, bells, bowls, and pots, xiv. 21.

The clause in xii. 1, "Jehovah which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth," is a favourite formula of II. Isaiah.[2] The fountain opened for uncleanness, the streams issuing from Jerusalem, and the transformation of the land, are based upon similar pictures in Ezekiel.[3]

The picture of the Meek King, ix. 9, riding on the ass, is applied to Christ entering Jerusalem, Matthew xxi. 5, John xii. 15. The thirty pieces of silver thrown to the potter, xi. 13, are applied to Judas' thirty pieces given for the potter's field, Matthew xxvi. 15, xxvii. 9, 10. *Cf.* also xii. 10, "They shall look unto me whom they have pierced," with John xix. 37; and xiii. 7, "I will smite the shepherd," etc., with Matthew xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 27.

14. Malachi.

(a) *Date and Authorship.* — The book is anonymous. "Malachi," which means "my messenger" or "my angel,"

[1] So G. A. Smith; R.V., "just and having salvation; lowly," etc.

[2] xl. 22, xlii. 5, etc.

[3] xxxvi. 25, xlvii. 1–12, *cf.* Joel iii. 18.

is a title prefixed by an editor, to whom it was suggested by the "my messenger" of iii. 1.[1]

The book is clearly connected with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, B.C. 458–433. Two main features of those reforms were the provision for the maintenance of the services of the Temple, and the prohibition of marriages with foreigners; and the Book of Malachi is devoted to the advocacy of these two objects. Opinion is divided as to the exact date. The book may have been issued before the first arrival of Nehemiah, B.C. 458, or before the promulgation of the Priestly Code in B.C. 444, and may thus have prepared the way for the reforms; or it may have been issued after B.C. 444, or even after Nehemiah's final departure from Judah, some time after B.C. 433, and may have served to overcome the reluctance of the Jews to fully accept and maintain the new dispensation. The fact that the book has points of contact with Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and the Law of Holiness,[2] rather than with the later portions of the Priestly Code, points to a date previous to the promulgation of the latter.

(b) *Historical Circumstances.*—Malachi falls in a part of the Persian period, the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464–424, when the Persian government was favourably disposed to the Jews. Before the first arrival of Nehemiah, however, the condition of Judæa was very unsatisfactory. The Temple had been completed, but its completion had not been followed by the prosperity promised by Haggai and Zechariah; people and priests alike were careless about the services, and entangled in marriages and other relations with heathen and half heathen neighbours; there was danger lest the worship of Jehovah should be degraded to the level

[1] *male'ākhî;* the word in i. 1 is taken as a title by the LXX., which, however, read *male'ākhô*, "his messenger," and by the Targum of Jonathan. This view was adopted by Calvin, who has been followed by most recent critics. Some, however, still regard Malachi as a proper name. *Cf.*, however, the designation of Haggai as the "messenger" of Jehovah in Haggai i. 13.

[2] Lev. xvii.–xxvi.

of heathen religions, and confused and blended with the worship of other gods. These dangers were averted by Ezra and Nehemiah. Nehemiah used his authority, as the representative of the Persian King, to establish the Priestly Code as the Law of the Jews, to put an end to marriages with foreigners, to make a sharp and permanent division between the Jewish community and its neighbours, and to make adequate provision for the Temple services.

(c) *Contents.*—i. 1–5, Edom's ruin a proof of Jehovah's love to Israel.

i. 6–ii. 9, Neglect of the Temple services by priests and people.

ii. 10–16, Jewish wives divorced to make room for foreign women.

Verses 11, 12 break the connection, and may be a later addition; see G. A. Smith, i. l.

ii. 17–iii. 6, The sudden coming of Jehovah's messenger to purify priests and people.

iii. 7–12, Fertility will reward the due payment of tithes and offerings.

iii. 13–iv. 3, Prosperous sinners will come to ruin, and suffering saints will be delivered.

iv. 4–6, Elijah the Forerunner.

(d) *Significance and Use in N.T.*—The form of the book is an argument against those who are prepared to justify themselves, *e.g.*, "Ye have wearied Jehovah with your words. Yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied Him?"[1] It is a manifesto on behalf of earnest and pious Jews alike against the self-satisfied indifference to true religion of the ruling classes, the priests and the people generally, and against the despondency of those who thought that the prosperity of wicked oppressors showed that God had deserted His own cause and those who were faithful to it.[2] Here, as in Haggai and Zechariah, zeal for holiness and righteousness goes hand in hand with zeal for the Temple. The devotion

[1] ii. 17. [2] iii. 13–iv. 3.

and enthusiasm of the party represented by this book made the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah possible.

Two details may be noticed. The Davidic Messiah does not appear; but a messenger, a new Elijah, is announced, who shall prepare the way for Jehovah and His Day of Judgment. In a most remarkable passage the writer seems to recognise the Gentile worship of their gods as worship paid to Jehovah, "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the Gentiles."[1]

In the New Testament, St. Paul uses i. 2 to illustrate the doctrine of divine election[2]; and the prediction of Elijah the Forerunner is applied to John the Baptist.[3]

In Mark i. 2 a quotation from Malachi iii. 1 is included in a quotation from "Isaiah the prophet."

[1] i. 11 R.V. Text. [2] Rom. ix. 13.
[3] Matt. xvi. 14, xvii. 1–13, Mark i. 2–4, etc.

CHAPTER VII.

APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, AND SOME OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PROTESTANT CANON[1]

1. Apocalypse of Baruch, including Epistle of Baruch.
2. Ascension of Isaiah.
3. Assumption of Moses.
4. Baruch, Book of.
5. Daniel, Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna.
6. Ecclesiasticus.
7. Enoch, Book of.
8. Enoch, Book of the Secrets of.
9. I. or III. Esdras.
10. II. or IV. Esdras.
11. Esther.
12. Jeremiah, Letter of.
13. Josephus.
14. Jubilees, Book of.
15. Judith.
16. i. Maccabees.
17. ii. Maccabees.
18. iii. Maccabees.
19. iv. Maccabees.
20. Manasseh, Prayer of.
21. Philo.
22. Psalms of Solomon.
23. Sibyllines.
24. Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.
25. Tobit.
26. Wisdom of Solomon.

1. **Apocalypse of Baruch.**—Extant in Syriac version of Greek version of the original Hebrew; written by unknown Pharisaic authors, *c.* A.D. 70–130. Apocalypse of the history from the time of Baruch to the Last Days, and the Reign of Messiah, put into the mouth of Baruch. It has much in common with ii. or iv. Esdras, and includes what was known as the Epistle of Baruch.

2. **Ascension of Isaiah.**—Extant in Latin and Ethiopian versions of the original Greek, consists of a Jewish, possibly pre-Christian account of the sawing asunder of Isaiah, with

[1] *Cf.* Chapter I. § 4 on the Canon.

Christian additions, containing Isaiah's vision of the Seven Heavens, with a prologue and epilogue. The combination may be dated *c.* A.D. 100.

3. **Assumption of Moses.**—Extant in Latin version of Greek version of Aramaic or Hebrew (Charles) original, written by a Zealot or Pharisee, *c.* A.D. 1–50. Only part is extant, viz., an Apocalypse of the history from the time of Moses to the Last Days, when Jehovah shall manifest Himself to restore the theocracy. The lost portion, only known from the Fathers, contained an account of the end of Moses, and was Jude's[1] authority for the dispute over the body of Moses.

4. **Baruch, Book of.**—Extant in LXX. and dependent versions. A combination of at least two independent works, (a) i.–iii. 8, Confession of the sins which led to the Captivity, with historical introduction, apparently dependent on Daniel ix., or *vice versâ*, written in Hebrew, assigned to various dates from B.C. 320 to A.D. 70. (b) iii. 9–v., Praise of Wisdom, and Consolations for the Exiles, written in Greek after A.D. 70.

Marshall, *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, holds that iii. 9–iv. 4, the Praise of Wisdom, was written in Aramaic.

5. **Daniel, the Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna.**—The Greek Daniel contains these three and other additions. *Bel and the Dragon*, and *Susanna* in many MSS. and editions of the LXX. are given separately. The Dragon story of the former, and the *Song* exist in Aramaic, otherwise these three additions are only found in Greek, in which language they were probably composed, the Aramaic being not the original but a translation. In LXX., *Bel and the Dragon* bears the title, "From the prophecy of Ambakoum (Habakkuk), Son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi." These additions may be dated between B.C. 160 and the Christian Era.

6. **Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach.**—Extant, as a whole, in LXX. and allied versions, of a Hebrew original,

[1] Verse 9.

of which xxxix. 15–xlix. 11, and other portions, have been recently discovered. Composed about B.C. 180 by Jesus ben Sirach, and translated into Greek by his grandson about B.C. 130. A second and larger Book of Proverbs.

7. **Enoch, Book of.**—Extant entire in Ethiopic version; in part, in Greek version of Hebrew or Aramaic original. Consists of five books, which may be five separate works, the second is certainly by a different hand from the rest. The second book, a Vision of Heaven and Hell, and of the Judgment by the Messiah, the Son of Man, variously dated from B.C. 95 to A.D. 70.[1] The rest contains the Fall of the Angels, Enoch's Journeys through earth and heaven, a Treatise on Astronomy, two Visions of the Flood, and two Apocalypses of the history from Adam to the establishment of Messiah's kingdom, and is variously dated from B.C. 160 to B.C. 105. It is quoted as Scripture in Jude 14 f. (?) and Barnabas iv. 3, xvi. 5.

8. **Enoch, Book of the Secrets of.**—Extant in a Slavonic version, made known to Western Europe for the first time in 1896, by the translation of W. R. Morfill, edited with Introduction and Notes by R. H. Charles. According to Mr. Charles, this book was written in Egypt, in Greek, A.D. 1–50, but embodies fragments of an older Hebrew work. It contains Enoch's journey through the Seven Heavens; God's description to Enoch of the Creation, the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Adam; Enoch's Translation, and his temporary return to instruct his sons. In spite of its similarity to the Book of Enoch, it is a distinct work.

9. **I. Esdras** (*E. V. and LXX.*[2]) *or* **III. Esdras** (*Vulg., Sixth Article, and early English Bibles*); often the **Greek Esdras.**—A Greek edition of Ezra (order of sections altered), ii. Chronicles xxxv. f. (Josiah-Zedekiah), Nehemiah vii. 73–viii. 13 (Promulgation of the Law), with an original section, iii. 1–v. 6, describing Zerubbabel's victory in a contest of wit

[1] König, Cornill, etc. regard this section as a Christian document.

[2] Esdras A, but in LAGARDE, *Luc. Text*, Esdras B.

before Darius, and its reward in the Return of the Jews. Either compiled from the Greek of the LXX., or by a Greek writer who translated freely from the Hebrew; iii. 1–v. 6, in any case, composed in Greek. Used by Josephus, and may be dated B.C. 170–100.

10. **II. Esdras** (Eng. Apoc.), or **IV. Esdras** (Vulg.).[1]—Extant in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic versions of a Greek original. The original work, iii.–xiv., is closely connected with the Apocalypse of Baruch, and was perhaps known as the Apocalypse of Ezra; it was written by a Palestinian Jew, *c.* A.D. 81–96, and contains discourses and visions given to Ezra by an angel, and an account of the rewriting of the O.T. by Ezra. Some of the visions are symbolic apocalyptic statements of history, in the manner of Daniel and Revelation. Chapters i. f., xv. f. are much later additions of little interest.

11. **Esther.**—The Greek Esther contains a speech and prayer of Mordecai, two letters of Artaxerxes to the provinces, a prayer of Esther and other additions, not found in the Hebrew, which were composed in Greek, *c.* B.C. 300–100.

12. **Jeremiah, Letter of.**—In many MSS. of LXX., and in Vulg. and English Apocrypha given as Baruch vi. A polemic against idolatry, purporting to be a letter from Jeremiah to the exiles at Babylon, *cf.* Jeremiah xxix. 10, written in Greek, *c.* B.C. 200—Christian Era.

13. **Josephus.**—Born A.D. 37, died *c.* 103, a Jewish priest, who commanded the forces in Galilee during the revolt, but was taken prisoner by the Romans, and became a *protégé* of Titus. Besides an autobiography, works *On the Jewish War*, and *Against Apion*, he wrote, in A.D. 95, the *Antiquities*, a history of the Jews from the Creation to the outbreak of

[1] In some Latin MSS., ii. Esdr. i. f. = ii. Esdras, ii. Esdras iii.–xiv. = iv. Esdras, ii. Esdras xv. f. = v. Esdras. THACKERAY, art. "II. Esdras," *Hastings' Bible Dictionary.*

the Jewish War. The older history is almost entirely derived from the O.T., and adds little or nothing that is trustworthy. His accounts of the Jews and their literature were intended to make as favourable an impression as possible upon Gentile readers. He wrote in Greek, also in Aramaic, which he translated into Greek.

14. **Jubilees, Book of,** *or Leptogenesis*, "*Little Genesis*," *etc.*—Extant in an Ethiopic version of a Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic original; fragments of a Latin version also exist. Written towards the beginning of the first century A.D. A Midrash[1] on Genesis i.–Exodus xiv., arranged according to Jubilees, or periods of 49 years.[2] The history purports to have been revealed to Moses by an angel during his stay in the Mount.

15. **Judith, Book of.**—Extant in the LXX., etc. of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, composed by a Palestinian Jew, *c.* B.C. 150–100. Narrates how Judith delivered the Jews who had returned from the Exile, by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the general of an invading army sent by Nebuchadnezzar, King of *Assyria.*

16. **I. Maccabees.**—Extant in the LXX., etc. of a Hebrew original, composed by a Palestinian Jew, *c.* B.C. 100–70. A most valuable history of the Maccabees from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175, to the murder of Simon, 135.

17. **II. Maccabees.**—A Greek work, preserved in the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 125 to A.D. 70. There are two introductory letters, containing legends about Jeremiah, etc.; but the bulk of the book from ii. 18 is an abridgement of an earlier work by Jason of Cyrene, *c.* B.C. 150. The work is a history of the Jews from the accession of Seleucus IV., 187, to the death of Nicanor, 161. It is very inferior as history to i. Maccabees.

18. **III. Maccabees.**—A Greek work, by an Egyptian Jew, preserved in the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 100–A.D. 100.

[1] Edition supplemented by illustrative narratives, etc.

[2] Not 50 as in the Pentateuch.

A legend of the miraculous deliverance of the Temple, and also of Jewish captives at Alexandria, from Ptolemy IV., B.C. 222–204. Its only connection with the Maccabees is the name and its position in the LXX.

19. **IV. Maccabees.** — A Greek work, preserved in the LXX., composed *c.* A.D. 30–70. Uses an incident from ii. Maccabees as the text of a sermon on the Supremacy of Reason, at one time wrongly ascribed to Josephus.

20. **Manasseh, Prayer of.**—A Greek work, contained in some MSS. of the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 200 to the beginning of the Christian Era or later. Purports to be the prayer mentioned II. Chronicles xxxiii. 18.

21. **Philo.**—Born *c.* B.C. 20, died after A.D. 40. A Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, who sought to combine and harmonise the teaching of the Pentateuch with Greek philosophy. He wrote in Greek a long series of works which constitute an allegorising commentary on the Pentateuch, and also various philosophical treatises. Some of them are only extant in Latin translations.

22. **Psalms of Solomon.**—Eighteen poems, composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, by a Palestinian Jew, partly after Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 63, partly after his death in B.C. 48[1]; preserved in a Greek translation in some MSS. of the LXX., but not included in the Vulgate or the English Apocrypha. The poems are partly general and didactic, but chiefly consist of praise, prayer, and lamentation concerning contemporary events, and include a glowing description, xvii., of the reign of Messiah.

23. **Sibylline Poems.**—Numerous poems, purporting to be Sibylline oracles, circulated in the Roman empire; many of these were composed by Jews and Christians, in order to propagate their own doctrines under the authority of the

[1] Both events are referred to in these psalms in terms which imply that they were recent. The language is symbolic, and gives no names, but the reference to Pompey's death is quite clear.

ancient Sibyl. The extant twelve books, in Greek, are a medley of Jewish and Christian fragments of various dates, in which are embedded some relics of older Gentile poems. The Jewish portions—iii. 97–820, written under Ptolemy VII., *c.* B.C. 140, iii. 36–92, *c.* B.C. 40, iv. (probably Jewish), *c.* A.D. 80, v. (in part), first century A.D., xi.–xiv., much later—contain polemics against polytheism and apocalyptic visions of history, the Day of Judgment, and the world-wide dominion of Israel and the Messiah.

24. **Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.**—A Greek work, composed by a Jewish Christian, *c.* A.D. 70–130, perhaps on the basis of an older Jewish work in Hebrew. It purports to be the last words of the twelve sons of Jacob. Each gives Midrashic[1] history of himself, a discourse on some moral topic, such as *Envy* or *Simplicity*, and apocalyptic history and prophecy.

25. **Tobit, Book of.**—A Greek work, composed, probably in Assyria, between B.C. 200–20. The Hebrew and Aramaic editions are probably versions of the Greek. A religious romance, inculcating obedience to the Law, and the burial of the dead. The scene is laid in Assyria under Sennacherib and his predecessor and successor. Tobit is an Israelite captive. The archangel Raphael heals Tobit's blindness, and obtains for his son Tobias the hand of Sarah, daughter of Raguel, in spite of the demon Asmodeus. It contains a brief apocalyptic poem put into the mouth of Tobit.

26. **Wisdom of Solomon.**—A Greek work, composed in the first century B.C. by an Alexandrian Jew, preserved in the LXX. An essay on Wisdom as the divine agent in creation and in the providential government of the world, as illustrated by the history of Israel, and in the spiritual discipline of man. As combining O.T. teaching with that of Greek philosophy, it is closely allied to Philo's works, and has sometimes been ascribed to that philosopher, but wrongly.

[1] See p. 272 n.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTORY

The New Testament—literally the new Covenant, as that part of the Bible which deals with the covenant predicted by Jeremiah,[1] and introduced and confirmed by Jesus Christ[2]—contains the especially Christian scriptures, although, from the first, Christianity has claimed the Jewish scriptures, and although the N.T. writers repeatedly appeal to them as inspired authorities, and for the proofs they afford of the Christian teachings. The contents of the N.T. consist of records of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; a historical account of the early churches and of the missionary work of some of their leaders; a number of letters to churches and individual persons, treating of the profoundest question of religious truth, but also devoting much attention to practical duties and Church administration, and abounding in expressions of affectionate interest; and lastly, standing quite by itself, the Apocalypse, with its mysteries of strange symbolism.

It was only in course of time that all these books were united in one volume. First we meet with a collection of the gospels, called "The Gospel," then with St. Paul's epistles, called "The Apostle." By degrees the other books were added.

Two influences in particular helped to settle the canon of the N.T. The first was the use of certain books in public worship, since it was necessary to determine which books were to be so employed. The second was the call to refute erroneous opinions by appeal to primitive authority. In early

[1] Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.

[2] Mark xiv. 24; Heb. vii. 22; viii. 6 ff.

times people of peculiar views made their own selections. Thus the extreme Paulinists following Marcion only used eleven books—a mutilated edition of Luke and ten of St. Paul's Epistles.[1] On the other hand, some of the Jewish Christians rejected the Pauline Epistles and Acts, but received the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

Meanwhile the main body of Christians was feeling its way towards the canon we now possess, guided by two principles—apostolic authorship, and traditional acceptance in the oldest and principal Churches.

Harnack holds that this canon was deliberately formed between A.D. 150 and 170, because there is no sign of it in Justin Martyr at the earlier date, while a little after the later date Irenæus is found appealing to most of our N.T. books as authorities, and quoting them freely on the evident assumption that they are familiar to his readers. Dr. Sanday considers that this hypothesis involves too sudden a movement for Irenæus to be making his appeals in full assurance that they will be understood and admitted. History knows of no such formal settlement of the canon.

By the end of the second century most of our N.T. books were recognised and appealed to as authorities, though the Western Churches were slow to accept Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles (except 1 John and Jude, of which they show no doubts), and the Eastern Churches were slow to accept Revelation and some of the Catholic Epistles.

By the end of the third century even these books on the margin of the canon were generally accepted. After this we come to the direct testimony of the MSS., the oldest of which date from the fourth century.

[1] Omitting 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews—ascribed by many to the apostle.

CHAPTER I.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

1. The Gospels.
2. Matthew.
3. Mark.
4. Luke.

1. The Gospels.

a. *The Word Gospel.*—The word gospel, meaning "glad tidings,"[1] was not used as the title of the four books to which it is attached in our N.T. when those books were written. In early times it was confined to the message of redemption in Jesus Christ which was preached by our Lord Himself and His disciples.[2] But inasmuch as the message is really presented most fully and clearly in the story of the life of Christ, when that story was written out it came to be regarded as a narrative of the gospel. Still, as there could be but one gospel in the primary sense of the word, the several narratives would not be regarded as so many gospels, but only as so many accounts of the gospel. Therefore when the word was first attached to them it retained its reference to the glad tidings which had been preached, and meant that the one gospel was set forth in each of these books. For this reason we read of "the gospel of God,"[3] with reference to its source—God revealing the good news, and "the gospel of Christ"[4] with reference to its contents—the gospel telling about Christ, but never of the gospel of Matthew, the gospel of Mark. The men

[1] Εὐαγγέλιον.

[2] This must be the case in Mark i. 1, the word gospel there not describing the book, but the message of good news, as the added phrase "of Jesus Christ" shows.

[3] Rom. xv. 16. [4] i. Cor. ix. 12.

to whom the books were ascribed had to be connected with them in some other way. This seems to be the explanation of the fact that the titles appear as "the gospel *according to* Matthew," "the gospel *according to* Mark," etc.,[1] *i.e.*, Matthew's version of the gospel, Mark's version, etc. The books only came to be known as gospels in the second century.

As far as it can be traced the word "gospel" is first given to a written account of the life of Christ in the time of Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140).[2] Justin Martyr, writing to the Roman Senate, the members of which knew nothing of the Christian books, refers to the gospels as "the Memoirs of the Apostles";[3] but he notes that they are "called gospels."[4]

b. *The Four Gospels.*—Many attempts were made to set forth the story of Christ even before our Third Gospel was written;[5] and several more were made during the next half century. Harnack has constructed a list of twenty gospels, concerning which some information has been preserved, while many others have fallen out of notice.

Harnack's list is as follows:—

1–4. The canonical gospels.
5. The gospel according to the Hebrews.
6. The gospel of the Twelve Apostles.
7. The Peter gospel.
8. The Egyptian gospel.
9. The Matthias gospel.
10. The Philip gospel.
11. The Thomas gospel.
12. The Protevangelium of James.
13. The Acts of Pilate (gospel of Nicodemus).
14. Basilides' gospel.
15. Valentinus' gospel.
16. Marcion's gospel.
17. The gospel of Eve.
18. The gospel of Judas.
19. The writing, Γέννα Μαρίας (also the "Great and little questions of Mary").
20. The gospel Τελειώσεως.[6]

[1] κατὰ Ματθαῖον, etc.
[2] TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 2.
[3] τὰ ἀπομνημονεύτα τῶν ἀποστόλων.
[4] ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, *Apol.* i. 66.
[5] See Luke i. 1.
[6] *Chronologie*, pp. 589–651.

Some few of these books may have been independent of the N.T. gospels; but, as far as can be discovered, most of them were late apocryphal works, either directly based on the canonical gospels, or relying on legends and imaginative materials of a manifestly unhistorical character. The gospel according to the Hebrews is the only one that was at all generally received and relied upon in the main body of the Church in addition to our four gospels. The question then arises, how was it that these four were selected for especial honour, and they alone admitted into the canon when it was formed? The answer is that they were regarded as of apostolic authority, two of them being ascribed to apostles (Matthew and John), and two to companions of apostles (Mark the companion of Peter, Luke the companion of Paul). Other gospels claimed apostolic authority, but the claim was rejected as unauthentic. Then several of the gospels early put into circulation were tainted with Jewish or gnostic views, and only received among the separated bodies in which those views were cherished, their "heresy" condemning them in the eyes of Catholics. Marcion's gospel was a mutilation of our Luke, especially adapted to the views of the Marcionites. When this was not the case, the triviality, the absurdity, the manifestly legendary character of other gospel writings were signs of their untrustworthiness as historical records. Undoubtedly the sobriety and truthfulness of our gospels, their own inherent worth, in addition to the apostolic traditions, commended them to use in the churches above their rivals. It is a noteworthy fact that nearly all the references to sayings and doings of our Lord in the writings of the early Fathers can be traced to our N.T. gospels, though often not in verbal agreement with them.

c. *Early Testimony to the Gospels.*—Eusebius when sorting out the universally received books of the canon, in distinction from those which some have questioned, writes: "And here among the first must be placed the holy quaternion of the gospels." (*H.E.*, iii. 25.) The gospel according to the Hebrews

he places among the disputed books. He only mentions the apocryphal gospels to reject them.

Eusebius is especially important for the early authorities—now lost to us—which he cites in witness of N.T. books. But here an important question has been raised by the author of *Supernatural Religion*. Are we to infer that when Eusebius does not give us the testimony of a certain author to any book of the N.T., that author must have known nothing about it? The author of *Supernatural Religion* answered in the affirmative, and argued accordingly from "the silence of Eusebius" that the four gospels were not all known in the first half of the second century, because Eusebius does not give the witness of writers of that period. But Bishop Lightfoot replied with crushing effect, showing the utter fallaciousness of this style of reasoning. It implies: (1) that if Eusebius does not cite a writer's testimony, that writer did not leave any testimony; and (2) that if the writer did not quote a N.T. book, he must have been ignorant of that book. Thus it is argued that Hegesippus did not know our gospels because Eusebius does not quote any testimony to them from that author, whom, however, he quotes for other purposes, and therefore proves himself to know; that Papias did not know Luke or John because Eusebius only quotes what he says about Matthew and Mark, etc. Now the argument turns entirely on the purpose of Eusebius. In describing this he discriminates, saying of the disputed books that he will indicate what church writers have "made use of" them, while he only promises to give, concerning the undisputed, any information that has been "made *about* them,"[1] *i.e.*, any historical statements or anecdotes about them. Thus, for example, Clement R. definitely names our 1 Corinthians; Justin Martyr cites from our gospels under the name, "Memoirs of the Apostles"; Theophilus of Antioch is the first writer to quote the gospel according to St. John by name; Irenæus cites Acts as Luke's, and cites all St. Paul's epistles except Philemon, yet Eusebius reproduces none of these testimonies, and for the simple reason that it did not come within his announced plan to do so. The books referred to were not disputed, and the references gave no specific information about them. So in the case of Papias he only cites certain statements *about* two gospel writings; he does not say what gospels Papias *used*, for the gospels were undisputed, and therefore he only collected anecdotes and historical statements about them. But in the case of disputed books Eusebius follows a different course, collecting all the evidence for the use of them that he can lay hands on. The author of *Supernatural Religion* replied to Dr. Lightfoot to the effect that the omissions in Eusebius referred to above might be due to oversight on his part. That is most improbable, for Eusebius was scholarly and thorough; nobody who knew Irenæus's writings—and Eusebius certainly knew them—could fail to observe that Father's many quotations from St. Paul's epistles. Yet Eusebius never appeals to the testimony of them. This could not be owing to oversight. But further, if Eusebius had been so careless with the testimony of Irenæus to St. Paul, he might have been equally careless in the case of testimony of Papias to Luke

[1] *τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποίαις κέχρηνται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἴρηται.—H.E.*, iii. 3.

or John. Thus the argument from "the silence of Eusebius" falls to the ground.

Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian[1] were familiar with our four gospels, frequently quoting and commenting on all of them. Irenæus (A.D. 180) not only knows and quotes the four gospels, but introduces quaint, fantastic arguments to prove that they must be just four, no more and no less.[2] The very absurdity of his reasoning testifies to the well-established position attained in his day by the four to the exclusion of all others. Irenæus's bishop was Pothinus, who lived to the age of 90, and Irenæus had known Polycarp in Asia Minor. Here are links of connection with the past that go back beyond the beginning of the second century. Thus Irenæus's testimony to the gospels is exceptionally significant. The *Muratorian Fragment* testifies directly to Luke and John, and indirectly to the other two gospels, as it begins with words that evidently refer to Mark,[3] and introduces Luke as "the third gospel." The gospels are found in the Peshitto and other early Syriac versions probably of the second century.

Then the recently recovered *Diatessaron* of Tatian comes in to show that all four gospels were acknowledged and their position well enough established for this harmony to be made from them for use in public worship, probably at Edessa, during the second century.

The Diatessaron.[4]—The finding of this book is one of the most im-

[1] Tertullian even refers to a Latin version known to himself and his readers. This carries us back beyond his time.

[2] "It is not possible that the gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal winds, while the church is scattered throughout all the world, and the pillar and ground of the church is the gospel and the spirit of life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh." *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 9, 8.

[3] "Quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit," a remark coming just before the mention of St. Luke's gospel, that seems clearly to point to St. Peter as one who had taken part in the events recorded, and so to the gospel commonly held to be derived from his teaching.

[4] The word *Diatessaron* may be taken in its literal translation, "by means of four," as meaning that which is constructed out of four documents; but more probably it just means "a Harmony," being derived from the idea of the four parts in music.

portant literary discoveries of the century. It was well known that Tatian the Assyrian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, had written a Harmony of the gospels—either in Greek or Syriac, we do not know which—for several allusions to it were found in ecclesiastical writers,[1] but the work itself had been lost sight of till it was brought to light in our own day. Dionysius-Bar-Salibi (*ob.* 1207) mentions that Ephraem the Syrian, a deacon of Edessa, wrote a commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron*. An Armenian version of that commentary was published by the monks of St. Lazzaro, near Venice, out of which Zahn endeavoured to reconstruct the original text. Meanwhile an Arabic MS. of the *Diatessaron* itself was lying unnoticed in the Vatican library. The publication of Zahn's work led Agostino Ciasca, one of the guild of writers at the Vatican, to turn his attention to the subject. From the Visitor Apostolic of the Catholic Copts he obtained another Arabic MS., and this he published in the year 1888, accompanied with a Latin translation. The Arabic has since been translated into English.[2] The author of *Supernatural Religion* had maintained that the *Diatessaron* was too ancient to have been constructed out of our gospels; but now we have it before us we see that most certainly this was the case. It begins with the prologue from John, and as it proceeds with the narrative it pieces together extracts from each of the four gospels. It is to be observed that it omits our Lord's genealogies, which we have in Matthew and Luke, probably from a gnostic objection to allow any human relationship.[3]

Thus before the end of the second century we see our gospels accepted in Rome (the Muratorian Fragment), in Gaul, and also in Asia Minor (Irenæus), in Africa (Tertullian and the Old Latin version), in Egypt (Clement), in Syria (Tatian, the *Diatessaron*, and the Syriac versions). Still more ancient testimony is forthcoming, though it becomes less distinct as we push the inquiry further back to times of comparative obscurity. There is good reason to believe that Justin Martyr used the gospels we have in our N.T. under the title of *Memoirs of the Apostles*. Writing to the Roman Senate, which knew nothing of the Christian books, and reporting a discussion with a Jew, he naturally uses a descriptive periphrasis, but, as we have seen, he states that they were called gospels. Nearly all the many sayings and incidents

[1] *The Doctrine of Addai*, xxxv. 15–17; EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, iv. 29, EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.*, xlvi. 1, THEODORET, *Haer.*, i. 20, etc.

[2] *The Earliest Life of Christ*, etc., by Rev. HAMLYN HILL, whose translation from the Latin was collated with the Arabic by Dr. G. Buchanan Gray, of Mansfield College.

[3] HARNACK is of opinion not only that the *Diatessaron* presupposes our gospels, but that it bears traces of having been based on a still earlier harmony of them.—*Chronologie*, p. 435 (2).

from the life and teaching of Christ which he mentions are to be found in our gospels, and when he gives any that are not in our gospels he does not attribute these to the *Memoirs*.

The following are Justin's statements not found in our gospels:—That Jesus was born in a cave; that the Magi came from Arabia; that Herod killed all the children in Bethlehem; that Jesus made ploughs and yokes; that at His baptism a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and a voice then said, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee."[1]

Now it has been objected that Justin's quotations do not verbally coincide with corresponding passages in our gospels. But then his quotations from the LXX. are equally loose, and there we know what authority he is following. In the case of the O.T. he combines two or three passages in a single paragraph, and he quotes the same passage twice with different variations from the original on each occasion.[2] Evidently then he quotes from memory, and without taking care to be verbally accurate. This was the custom with citations made in the primitive ages before the N.T. books had been reckoned of canonical rank, and while tradition was still fresh enough to allow literature not to be regarded as of paramount importance. Moreover, it is to be observed that the discovery of the *Diatessaron* removes all question as to Justin's use of our gospels, for since Tatian was a disciple of Justin's, it is inconceivable that he should have worked on quite different gospels from those of his teacher, while each held the gospels he used to be the books of primary importance.

Then Papias knew at least Mark and a Hebrew Matthew.[3] The evidence of the Apostolic Fathers is more difficult to disentangle. None of them name the gospels or cite them with verbal exactness. It has been suggested that "The Shepherd of Hermas" abounds in references to the four gospels,[4] but the mystical imagery of that book is too obscure for this to be maintained with assurance. In the "Epistle of Barnabas" there are several passages that coincide more or less closely with Matthew, and once the author uses the technical expression for inspired Scripture "it is written" for a saying that we have in Matthew: "As it is written, many are called,

[1] This last statement is in the MS. D of Luke. Possibly Justin had a similar text. The other statements may have come down in tradition; or they may have been found in some other gospel, and if so, most likely in the gospel according to the Hebrews.

[2] It has been pointed out that some of his O.T. quotations are more accurate. These are from the Psalms, the exact words of which are better known owing to the use of them in public worship.

[3] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, iii. 39. To be considered later with reference to each of these gospels.

[4] TAYLOR, *The Witness of Hermas to the Gospels.*

but few are chosen." (Barnabas iv. 14, *cf.* Matthew xxii. 14.) Clement R. gives several of our Lord's sayings which come very near to Matthew—nearer than to Luke, but not verbally coinciding. Resch has suggested that he had one of the sources of our gospels, while Dr. Sanday inclines to regard the quotations as drawn from some notes for catechumens, based on our gospels or on Matthew's collection of the sayings of Christ.

Clement writes: "Most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching forbearance and longsuffering: for thus He spake; Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye shew kindness, so shall kindness be shewed unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you." (Clement R., 1 *Corinthians* xiii.) It is evident that this is not an exact quotation from Matthew, though it comes nearest to that gospel. In particular it is to be observed that while Clement gives us the two sayings of Matthew vii. 1, "Judge not, that ye be not judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you," he has the first in a different form: "As ye judge, so shall ye be judged," and he inserts another saying between this and the second one in Matthew, viz., "As ye shew kindness, so shall kindness be shewed unto you." The *form* of the concluding sayings seems to echo the form in St. Luke's version (vi. 36–38). We know that Clement quotes loosely from memory, because this is his habit with the O.T.[1] Possibly, therefore, he does so here with Matthew, and perhaps also Luke. But we cannot cite him with assurance as a witness to those gospels, as it is quite possible that he is using some other document containing the sayings of Christ.

The case of the *Didachè* is similar. Five times the author quotes sayings of Christ as given "in the gospel," but in his primitive age that phrase was not used for any book, and it must mean the preaching of the glad tidings. These sayings can all be traced to Matthew and Luke.[2]

The Lord's prayer is given almost verbally as in Matthew[3] (*Didachè* viii. 2).

The saying, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs"

[1] *e.g.*, compare Clement, 1 *Cor.* iii. 1 with Deut. xxxii. 15; 1 *Cor.* viii. 2 with Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. 1 *Cor.* xxix. 2, 3 seems to be a combination of Numb. xviii. 27, Deut. iv. 34, and 2 Chron. xxxi. 14.

[2] HARNACK is decidedly of opinion that the author used both Matt. and Luke. *Chronologie*, p. 435.

[3] The only variations are ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ for ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἐλθέτω for ἐλθάτω, ἀφίεμεν for ἀφήκαμεν, τὴν ὀφειλήν for τὰ ὀφειλήματα, and in the doxology, which is later than the original text of Matthew.

(*Didachè* ix. 5) agrees verbally with Matthew vii. 6. Still these are utterances of Christ that might well be kept in their exact form in other lists of *Logia*. There is one saying which is not to be found in any of our gospels, viz., "It hath been also said concerning this matter, Let thine alms drop like sweat into thy hands, so long as thou knowest not to whom thou givest." (*Didachè* i. 6.) On the whole we may conclude that these allusions to sayings of Christ in the Apostolic Fathers render it highly probable that Matthew, and also, though less assuredly, Luke, were used by them, and that even if that were not the case, the collections of sayings quoted are seen to be so near to our gospels as to be themselves partial confirmations of the historicity of those documents.

2. Matthew.

a. *The Apostle Matthew.*—This apostle, also known as Levi the son of Alphæus,[1] was the collector of customs at Capernaum, whom Jesus called as he sat at his work by the entrance to the city, and who made a feast in honour of our Lord, to which he invited his fellow tax-collectors in the neighbourhood. Forsaking his lucrative office to follow Christ, he became one of the Twelve, but he did not emerge into sufficient distinctive activity during our Lord's lifetime to have any further doings of his noted down in the gospels. According to a late tradition he preached for fifteen years in Judæa, and then ministered in Parthia or Ethiopia.[2] The interesting part of this tradition is the connection of his name with a ministry to the Jews. The early references to his literary work point in that direction.

b. *St. Matthew's Hebrew Work.*—It is repeatedly asserted by early Church writers that Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew. But the earliest reference to his work—that of Papias—describes it as *Logia*, a word which seems to indicate sacred sayings, "oracles," rather than historical narratives. That such a work may have contained connecting historical matter

[1] Compare Mark ii. 14 and Luke v. 27 with Matt. ix. 9.

[2] See EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, iii. 24; SOCRATES, *H.E.*, i. 19.

is very probable, and there is reason to believe that this was the case with St. Matthew's book. Still the reference to the Hebrew language and the use of the title *Logia* furnish two reasons for supposing that Papias cannot be referring to our gospel, and that we have here some earlier work consisting chiefly of sayings of Christ.[1]

Papias writes: "Matthew then composed the Logia in the Hebrew tongue, and every one translated them as he was able."[2] His statement of the translating in the past tense—"every one *translated*"—seems to suggest that this troublesome process with its varying results was no longer necessary, because the work was now rendered in Greek. Irenæus writes: "Matthew among the Hebrews published a gospel in their own language." (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 1.) Origen says in his account of the gospels: "The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, afterwards an apostle of the Lord, and delivered to the Jewish believers composed in the Hebrew language."[3] (Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 25.) Eusebius himself tells us that "Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other people, delivered to them in their own language the gospel according to him." (*H.E.*, iii. 24.) Lastly we have Jerome writing: "Matthew, also called Levi, who from being a publican became an apostle, first wrote a gospel of Christ in Judæa and in Hebrew letters and words (*literis verbisque*) for the benefit of those of the circumcision who believed. Who afterwards translated it into Greek is not quite certain." (*De Vir. Ill.*, 3.) He adds that he himself had seen it, and that the Nazarenes who had a copy of the original in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea allowed him to transcribe it. He had previously stated that when at Berœa he had translated the gospel according to the Hebrews which the Nazarenes and Ebionites used into Greek and Latin. Further, both Eusebius and Jerome state that Pantænus found in India the gospel of Matthew which was written in India, and Jerome adds that Pantænus brought it to Alexandria.

The case is very complicated; but the following facts seem to come out of it: (1) It is impossible to resist the wide-

[1] Dr. Lightfoot urged that the word *Logia* could be used for the gospel, because it stands for the O.T. Scriptures. But when it is so used, it can best be understood as indicating the Divine utterances in the Law or through the Prophets, rather than the very books of the O.T. (See Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2.) So it could be applied to inspired Christian teaching in Heb. v. 12, and even to the utterances of Christian prophets in i. Peter iv. 11. It is most improbable that so early as Papias it would be applied to a historical record. Greek writers use the word for the Pagan and Sibylline oracles. In the LXX. it is the translation of חֹשֶׁן, the High Priest's breastplate, with a reference to its use in divination.

[2] Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραίδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.—EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, iii. 39.

[3] γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον.

spread and quite uncontradicted statements that Matthew wrote in Hebrew—this may be the sacred language, or the writers may mean the current language of Palestine, Aramaic. (2) Most of these writers appear to identify Matthew's work with the original of our Matthew. (3) None of them assert that they saw the Hebrew gospel to which they refer except Jerome, and he adds that he translated it into Greek and Latin. But this implies that it could not have been the original of our Matthew, since the Greek Matthew and its Latin versions were already familiar to Jerome. Moreover, extracts from the gospel according to the Hebrews have been preserved, and these are manifestly not taken from our Matthew;[1] most of them have a late and apocryphal character. It looks as though there were a double confusion here. First Papias' statement is assumed to apply to our Matthew. Then the well-known gospel according to the Hebrews is also assumed to be the *Logia* to which Papias referred. Its late apocryphal character, however, proves that this cannot be the case. In point of fact we have three works: (1) Papias' *Logia*, which is St. Matthew's real Hebrew work; (2) our Greek Matthew; (3) the gospel according to the Hebrews. This last was the book which Jerome saw and translated, and which came in course of time to be mistaken for St. Matthew's *Logia*, though it was a less reliable work.

c. *Authorship and Composition.*—Now the question arises, what is the relation of the first two of these works to one another? Is our Matthew simply a translation of the *Logia* to which Papias referred? That appears to have been assumed in the early Church; but it cannot be the case. For one thing, a complete gospel, with its account of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, would scarcely have such a title. But the conclusive objection is that the work is manifestly not a translation from the Hebrew, but a work originally composed in Greek. The style and con-

[1] See Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 322–342.

struction demand that verdict. In particular, quotations from the O.T. are taken from the LXX.

This is not the case universally. Those quotations which Matthew has in common with one or both of the other synoptics are taken from the LXX.; but those which are found only in Matthew appear to be translated direct from the Hebrew, a fact which points to a literary connection between the gospels, to be considered in the next chapter. But all the proofs of that connection, which is in Greek, indicate that our Matthew is not a translation from Hebrew, especially if, as will appear later, Matthew is in part founded on Mark, certainly from the first a Greek book.

On the other hand, the large amount of space devoted to the teachings of Jesus in Matthew shows that this subject was especially important in the estimation of the author. The probability is that the source from which he drew his information concerning it was no other than the *Logia*. If our Matthew was largely dependent on that work, absorbing perhaps the greater part of it, this gospel would naturally come to be closely associated with St. Matthew's Hebrew compilation in the minds of its readers. It is possible to hold that Matthew himself wrote the second book, in the Greek, as well as the Hebrew *Logia*. But if we come to see in our study of the synoptic problem that Mark was used as the groundwork of the gospel, this hypothesis is not probable. We cannot suppose that Matthew, an apostle and an eye-witness, would resort to Mark, whose information was derived second-hand. Still St. Matthew's name came to be naturally attached to the gospel, since it contains so much of his writing in the reports of our Lord's discourses—its most important contents.

d. *Date and Place of Origin.*—It has been argued that this gospel was written subsequently to the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) on the ground that it contains references to that event (*e.g.*, xxii. 7), and also predictions of the coming of the Son of Man in the generation then living (x. 23, xvi. 28). But these are all sayings of Christ, and the argument goes on the assumption that our Lord could not have foreseen or foretold the events predicted in them. Now later versions of Christ's teaching may indicate a consciousness of subsequent events on the part of the writers and editors. But the lan-

guage in Matthew is quite general. A comparison with Luke helps us here. (1) The eschatological discourse in Matthew contains a veiled allusion to an approaching desecration described in words from Daniel as "the abomination of desolation," with a parenthetic remark, "Let him that readeth understand."[1] This points to a time before the event had made the meaning clear, but when hints were already to be seen, *i.e.*, at the time of the outbreak of the war. That a more distinct statement was natural after the siege of Jerusalem is evident from St. Luke's version of the discourse.[2] (2) The blending of the second coming of Christ with the destruction of Jerusalem also points to the earlier time. Accordingly we are led to a date a little before A.D. 70. We have no indication of the place where the gospel was written, except that it was not written in Palestine, which it describes as "that land"[3] (ix. 26, 31). The author is writing for Greek-speaking Jews, who need the interpretation of Hebrew words. Thus he interprets "Immanuel" (i. 23), "Golgotha" (xxvii. 33), and the words of Christ's prayer (xxvii. 46).

e. *Contents.*

(1) *Preparation*, i.—iv. 11.

i. 1–17, Genealogy from Abraham.

18–25, Announcement concerning Jesus to Joseph.

ii. 1–12, The birth of Jesus and the visit of the Magi.

13–23, Flight into Egypt, massacre of the Bethlehem infants, and settlement in Nazareth.

iii. 1–12, The work of John the Baptist.

13–17, The baptism of Jesus.

iv. 1–11, The temptation.

(2) *The Beginning of the Ministry*, iv. 12–25.

12–25, The commencement of our Lord's ministry in Galilee; the call of the four fishermen; Jesus preaching and healing.

[1] This is just the same in Mark xiii. 14, showing that one gospel used the other, or that they had a common source. [2] See Luke xxi. 20. Nevertheless most recent scholars date it after A.D. 70. Some time seems to be required for the development of its didactic treatment of the *Logia* as though for use among catechumens; *e.g.*, compare the more elaborate explanatory Beatitudes of Matt. v. 3–12 with the simpler and probably earlier forms in Luke vi. 20–23. But it could now well be dated later than the following decade. [3] ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη. WEISS suggests Ephesus.

(3) *The Sermon on the Mount*, v.–vii.

v. 1, 2, Introductory description.

3–12, The Beatitudes.

13–16, The disciples as salt and light.

17–20, Jesus fulfiling the law, and expecting higher righteousness than that of the scribes and Pharisees.

21–48, The new teaching concerning murder and hatred, adultery and lust, swearing, revenge.

vi. 1–18, Against hypocrisy in almsgiving; in prayer—with the opposite example of the Lord's Prayer; in fasting.

19–34, Against the worldliness of Mammon worship, and anxiety for material things; Nature teaching trust in God; the call to seek first His kingdom.

vii. 1–5, Judging and censoriousness forbidden.

6, Discrimination to be observed in communicating the treasures of the kingdom.

7–12, Encouragements to prayer.

13, 14, The two ways.

15–23, False prophets, and how to detect them.

24–29, The two houses; and the effect of the discourse on the people.

(4) *The Ministry at Capernaum and by the Lake*, viii.–xiv.

viii. 1–4, Cleansing of a leper.

5–13, Cure of the servant of a centurion at Capernaum.

14–17, Cure of Peter's wife's mother.

18–22, Two would-be disciples discouraged.

23–27, The storm calmed.

28–34, The two Gadarene demoniacs cured, and the herd of swine perishing in the sea.

An instance of Matthew's couples; Mark has one demoniac (v. 2).

ix. 1–8, Cure of the sick of the palsy.

9, Call of Matthew from the place of toll.

10–13, Christ sitting at table with publicans and sinners.

14–17, Christ's disciples accused of not fasting; His defence of them.

18–26, The cure of the woman who touched Jesus' garment,

and the raising to life of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue.

27–31, Two blind men receive their sight.

32–34, A dumb man cured; Jesus accused of working in league with the prince of the demons.

35–x. 1, Jesus' compassion for the multitude.

x. 2–xi. 1, The twelve apostles; and the charge to them.

xi. 2–19, Opinions about John and Jesus.

20–24, Lament over Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

25–30, Thanksgiving for the revelation to babes, and invitation to the heavy-laden.

Note the peculiar Johannine style here.

xii. 1–8, The disciples plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath, and Christ's defence of them.

9–21, Jesus curing the man with the withered hand on the Sabbath day; His mission of mercy predicted by Isaiah.

22–37, Cure of a blind and dumb demoniac; the charge of Satanic influence; blasphemy against the Spirit.

38–42, Seeking after a sign.

43–45, The house swept and garnished.

46–50, Who are Christ's mother and His brethren?

xiii. 1–52, A group of parables about the kingdom—the sower, the tares, the mustard seed, leaven, the treasure hid in a field, the pearl of great price, the net; concluding with the well-furnished scribe.

53–58, Jesus in His own country.

xiv. 1–12, The murder of John the Baptist.

13–21, The feeding of the five thousand.

22–33, Christ and Peter walking on the sea.

34–36, Healing the sick in Gennesaret.

(5) *Retirement to Remote Districts and more Private Ministry*, xv.–xviii.

xv. 1–20, Objection to the disciples not washing ceremoniously; answered by Christ.

21–28, The Canaanite woman.

29–39, The feeding of the four thousand.

Many take this as another version of the feeding of the 5,000 (Schleiermacher, Neander, Wendt, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, &c.).

xvi. 1–12, The Sadducees seeking a sign; leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

13–28, Peter's confession of Christ, and His first prediction of His death.

xvii. 1–13, The transfiguration.

14–23, The lunatic boy; Christ's second prediction of His betrayal and death.

24–27, The shekel in the fish's mouth.

xviii. 1–14, On the treatment of children, and Christ saving the lost sheep.

15–35, Treatment of an offending brother; the limits of forgiveness and the parable of the wicked servant.

(6) *Jesus east of the Jordan*, xix., xx.

xix. 1–12, Jesus forbidding divorce.

13–15, Jesus blessing children.

16–22, The young man who refused to give up all for Christ.

23–xx. 16, The difficulty of a rich man entering the kingdom; and the parable of the labourers.

17–28, Christ's third prediction of His death, followed by the request of the mother of Zebedee's children.

29–34, The two blind men of Jericho.

Another of Matthew's doublets. *Cf.* Mark x. 46; Luke xviii. 35.

(7) *The Last Days in Jerusalem*, xxi.–xxv.

xxi. 1–17, The triumphant entry; the cleansing of the temple.

18–22, The withered fig-tree and the power of faith.

23–32, Christ challenged for His authority; His reply challenge.

33–46, The parable of the vineyard.

xxii. 1–14, The marriage feast.

15–46, Questions to entrap Christ: (α) the Pharisees' and the Herodians' question on the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar; (β) the Sadducees' question on marriage and the future life; (γ) the lawyer's question on the commandments; (δ) Christ's question about David's son.

xxiii. 1–12, On not seeking the chief places.

13–36, Denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees.

37–39, Lament over Jerusalem.

xxiv., Apocalyptic prediction of the coming woes, and warnings to escape.

xxv., Parables of judgment—the ten virgins; the talents; the sheep and the goats.

(8) *The Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus*, xxvi.–xxviii.

xxvi. 1–5, Decision of the council about the arrest of Jesus.

6–13, The woman with the cruse of ointment.

14–16, Judas' bargain to betray Christ for money.

17–35, The Passover, the indication of the traitor, the Lord's Supper, and the warning of Peter's denial.

36–56, Jesus in Gethsemane, betrayed and arrested.

57–68, The trial before Caiaphas.

69–75, Peter's denial of Christ.

xxvii. 1, 2, Jesus delivered to Pilate.

3–10, Judas' repentance and suicide.

11–31, Jesus tried by Pilate; the release of Barabbas; Jesus mocked.

32–56, The crucifixion and death of Jesus.

57–61, Joseph of Arimathæa and the burial of Jesus.

62–66, Pilate grants a guard for the tomb.

xxviii. 1–10, The women at the sepulchre; the angel; Jesus meeting them.

11–15, The guard bribed to keep silence.

16–20, Jesus meeting the eleven in Galilee; His commission to them to evangelise the world.

The originality of the Trinitarian baptismal formula (xxviii. 19) is open to question, because (1) it is without parallel in the teachings of Jesus; (2) even St. Paul's most Trinitarian formula (2 Cor. xiii. 14) is less advanced; (3) all other references to Christian baptism in the N.T. give the name of Christ only, not the Three Persons of the Trinity; (4) this clause is omitted in all Eusebius's quotations of the passage earlier than the Council of Nicæa. These facts throw doubt on it, although it has all the best MSS. authority and its essential ideas are not beyond other teachings of Jesus in the synoptics.[1]

f. *Characteristics.*—This gospel is more Hebraistic than the other synoptics: (1) In language the Greek follows Hebrew idioms more closely. Thus here we have the expression "the kingdom of heaven," while not only in the other gospels, but everywhere else in the N.T. we read "the kingdom of God," an instance of the Jewish reluctance to use the name of God. Quotations from the O.T., not found in the parallel gospels, are made direct from the Hebrew, not taken from the LXX. (2) The standpoint of the writer and the atmosphere

[1] See CONYBEARE, *Zeitschrift N.T.*, *etc.*, 1901, p. 275 ff.

of his ideas are largely Jewish. While St. Luke traces the genealogy of Christ back to Adam, in our gospel it commences with Abraham; and the names are arranged in three groups of fourteen (*i.e.*, 3 of twice 7—both sacred numbers in the O.T.), an arrangement not adopted in Luke. Then our Lord's most explicit statements on the authority of the Law appear only in this gospel. It is here only that we read "I did not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it" (Matthew v. 17[1]), followed by a severe condemnation of anyone who breaks the smallest of the commandments. Matthew only gives in the commission to the Twelve the direction, "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (x. 6, 7); in the conversation with the Canaanite[2] woman, the sentence, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (xv. 24); and after our Lord's description of the scribes and Pharisees as sitting in the seat of Moses, the remarkable direction, "All things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe." (xxiii. 3.) Jerusalem is the holy city (iv. 5, xxvii. 53). Lastly the author frequently quotes the O.T., especially prophecies, the fulfilment of which he sees in Christ.

On the other hand it is far from the standpoint of the extreme Judaisers, St. Paul's opponents, *i.e.*, the party of James; for it has strong words in condemnation of the Jews, and definite commendations of the Gentiles. Matthew alone gives the account of the homage of the Gentiles in the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ (ii. 1–12). In this gospel we have warm praise of a Roman centurion's faith, with the comment, "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom[3] shall be cast forth into the outer darkness,

[1] Luke xvi. 17 is parallel to what follows in Matt., but much briefer.

[2] A more Hebraistic designation than Mark's "Syro-Phœnician."

[3] Note the Hebraism of *form*—"sons of the kingdom."

etc." (viii. 10–12.) Matthew gives the parable of the vineyard with the concluding words, "Therefore say I unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (xxi. 43); and he ends his gospel with the words of the great commission to "Make disciples of all the nations." (xxviii. 19, 20.)

Pfleiderer holds these two positions to be absolutely contradictory, and he would explain the phenomena on the hypothesis that the gospel was originally a strongly Jewish writing, and that Pauline and anti-Jewish ideas were brought into it by the insertion of certain sentences later when it fell into the hands of some editor of the opposite school to that of its author.[1] But this is to ignore the purposely paradoxical methods of Christ's preaching. There is no real contradiction between the two sets of sayings. Each represents a phase in our Lord's teaching. His immediate mission was to Israel, and so was that of the Twelve; He claimed the spirit of the law, and developed it. But it is a denial of the N.T. portrait of Christ to assert that the world-wide aims of the gospel were not in the mind of its Founder.

3. **Mark.**

a. *St. Mark the Evangelist.*—John Mark was the son of one of the N.T. Marys—probably a woman of some position, as the Jerusalem Church met in her house (Acts xii. 12)—and a nephew of Barnabas (Colossians iv. 10.) It has been suggested that he was the young man whose presence in the garden he mentions so curiously (Mark xiv. 51, 52); but, as far as we know, he was not a personal follower of our Lord. Still he was one of the early Christians at Jerusalem, for he was there during the famine (A.D. 45–6); and Barnabas, who came up to the city with Saul carrying presents from Antioch, took him to the Syrian capital on the return journey. He accompanied these two on what is called St. Paul's "First Missionary Journey," but left them at Perga, in Pamphylia, when the apostle determined to extend it beyond the Taurus Mountains. Since St. Paul was annoyed at this action—though, as Professor Ramsay shows, it was not altogether unreasonable[2]—and refused to have him on the next journey, Barnabas took him to his

[1] *Urchristenthum*, pp. 540, 541.
[2] *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 90.

own home in Cyprus (xv. 39). We have no account of his subsequent movements. According to tradition he was the founder of the church at Alexandria.[1] His evangelistic work in Egypt may have occupied the interval between A.D. 50 and A.D. 62. Near the latter date we find him with St. Paul at Rome (Colossians iv. 10), a fact showing the apostle to be reconciled to him, and honoured as a "fellow worker." (Philemon 24.) In 1 Peter he appears as an intimate disciple of St. Peter, for that apostle calls him "My son" (v. 13).

b. *Mark and Peter.*—It has been common to treat the second gospel as virtually Peter's. The reason for doing so is that several writers of very early dates associate the name of Peter with Mark in connection with it, telling us that Mark wrote what he had heard Peter teach. The chief witness is Papias, who gives us his information on older authority, ascribing it to the elders from whom he had learnt. Other authorities are Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen. Justin Martyr refers to the "Memoirs of Peter" when giving a statement found in Mark iii. 17.[2]

Papias writes: "And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter (ἑρμηνευτής) of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order (οὐ μέντοι τάξει) what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said, he attended Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs of his hearers, but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's words (λόγων). So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his own care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein." (Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 39.) One or two questions arise here: (1) In what sense was Mark an *interpreter* of Peter? Possibly the reference is simply to his work as a catechist explaining the discourses to the hearers. But the usual sense of the word would point to linguistic interpretation. This is how it is employed by St. Paul when referring to the unknown tongues. (1 Corinthians xiv. 28.) Therefore the meaning may be that Mark, who had Hellenistic connections, *e.g.* with Barnabas, translated Peter's Aramaic utterances into Greek.[3] (2) What does Papias mean by saying that

[1] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, ii. 16. [2] *Tryph.* 106.

[3] Not Latin; Greek would be used for religious instruction at Rome in these times. See SWETE, *St. Mark*, xix., xx.

the gospel was "not in order"? This may refer to a break with chronology, and Lightfoot suggested that Papias had in mind John's order, which is different in many respects from Mark's.[1] But it may be that Papias meant that this gospel was not a systematic history, not a complete biography, but a book, the contents of which were selected with a view to the profit of the readers.[2]

Irenæus writes: "Matthew also issued a written gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying foundations of the church. After their departure (ἔξοδον), Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter (τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα)." (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 1.) Possibly Irenæus is dependent on Papias; but he adds to what we have from Papias the statement that the gospel was written after the death of Peter and Paul, and he more definitely fixes the form of the source as what Peter preached.

Of Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius says: "In the same books Clement has given a tradition concerning the order of the gospels which he had received from the presbyters of old (ἀνέκαθεν), and which is to this effect: He says that the gospels containing the genealogies were written first; that the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark was this: Peter having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit, many present exhorted Mark to write the things which had been spoken since he had long accompanied Peter, and remembered what he had said; and that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him. Which when Peter knew, he neither forbad nor encouraged it." (Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 14.) Here we may notice that Clement relies on tradition from elders of a long time back. Agreeing with Papias and Irenæus in the main, he contradicts the latter in one respect, viz., in dating the composition of the gospel during the lifetime of Peter, while Irenæus sets it after Peter's death. Irenæus is more definite, and probably it is he who is correct. Then Origen says: "Mark wrote it as Peter directed him" (ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῳ), thus supporting Clement (Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 25); and Tertullian says: "The gospel published by Mark may be called Peter's, whose interpreter (*interpres*) Mark was." (*Adv. Marcion*, iv. 5.) Moreover, this ancient testimony is without contradiction.

c. *Genuineness and Historicity.*—Pfleiderer, while accepting St. Mark as the author of our gospel, denies his connection with St. Peter partly on the ground that the gospel contains miracles, of which the apostle, an eye-witness, of course knew nothing.[3] This is high-handed criticism indeed. The most conclusive evidence is to be set aside, because it does not agree with the non-miraculous theory of the universe. Only

[1] Essays on *Supernatural Religion*, p. 165.

[2] See SWETE, xx., xxi.

[3] *Urchristenthum*, p. 414.

a disciple of Hume could admit such an argument. But another point of Pfleiderer's has been perceived by many. The gospel has not the aspect of discourses, because it is almost confined to narrative matter. Now it may well be allowed that Mark, when sitting down to the task of writing his gospel, did not confine himself exclusively to what he had heard Peter utter in public preaching. Besides, what he had learnt in this way would be used by him as material for a composition in his own words and style. Certainly the gospel does not consist merely of a reporter's notes of sermons. We need not demand that it should, in order, satisfy the requirements of the patristic statements about it. And then it is reasonable to think that Peter did repeat many stories of his Master's life. That would be a very real way of preaching Christ, the best way for making Christ known. A brief notice of one of his sermons which is given in Acts represents him as saying that Jesus "went about doing good" (Acts x. 38), a phrase just on the lines of the gospel according to St. Mark, which would serve well as a summary of that gospel. Then it has been objected that the phrase "not in order" does not apply to Mark, which is the most orderly of the gospels, and which is chronologically arranged. But the expression may mean, "not as a set historical composition," and further, in point of fact it is not entirely chronological. For example, it gives five occasions of offence to the Jewish authorities on the part of Jesus in immediate succession (ii. 1–iii. 6). It is hardly likely that they occurred thus closely together; possibly we have here the grouping in one of Peter's sermons on the subject.

We cannot reasonably doubt that our Mark is the book to which the patristic references apply. It was well known to Irenæus as one of the four gospels, and his frequent citations remove all doubt on the point as far as he is concerned. But Irenæus's Mark cannot be other than Papias's Mark, though probably it has undergone re-editing. The connection of time, locality, and association between the two Fathers is too close. Probably our gospel was one of Justin Martyr's

Memoirs of the Apostles, for Justin gives words that occur in Mark only.[1] Possibly it was known to Hermas.[2]

d. *Date and Place of Origin, and Destination.*—As we do not know the date of St. Peter's death, neither the statement of Irenæus nor that of Clement will help us much in fixing the date of this gospel. Still, since it is probable that St. Peter was living at least as late as the Neronian persecution, and since it is also probable that Irenæus is right, and that St. Mark did not write down his recollections of the apostle's preaching till that was completed, it is not likely that the gospel was composed before about A.D. 65. At all events it must have been after Colossians, which was written when Mark was with Paul at Rome, for there is no indication in the epistle of his being with Peter also then. Peter's coming to Rome therefore must be later than 62, and the reports of the preaching some time after that. On the other hand, as in the case of Matthew, probably we should not assign the gospel to a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. The same argument from the contrast with the reference to that event in the apocalyptic discourse applies here also.[3] Moreover, if Mark was used as a basis of Matthew, it must be earlier. Thus we come back to about A.D. 65 or at latest 66. There is no reason to deny the ancient tradition that it was written in Rome. It contains several Latinisms.[4] Evidently it was intended for Gentiles who were not familiar with Jewish customs, for it explains some of those customs, *e.g.*, the custom of Purification (vii. 4).

e. *Contents.*

(1) *Introduction*, i. 1–13.

i. 1–8, The mission of John the Baptist.

9–13, The baptism and temptation of Jesus.

(2) *Early Ministry in Galilee*, i. 14–iii. 12.

[1] τοῦ βοανεργές, ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς, in *Tryph*, 106, and there attributed to the *Memoirs of Peter* is only found in Mark iii. 17 (though with the spelling βοανηργές).

[2] See TAYLOR, *Witness of Hermas*, p. 5 ff.

[3] See page 289.

[4] *e.g.*, Latin words—δηνάριον, κεντυρίων, κοδράντης, κράβαττος, λεγιών, ξέστης, σπεκουλάτωρ; and such phrases as κακῶς ἔχοντες, ἐσχάτως ἔχει.

i. 14–28, Commencement of the ministry; preaching in the synagogue at Capernaum; demoniac cured.

29–34, Cure of Peter's wife's mother, followed by many miracles of healing.

35–45, A leper cleansed.

ii. 1–iii. 6, Successive grounds of offence: (α) claim to forgive sins when curing a paralytic; (β) eating with publicans and sinners after the call of Levi; (γ) permitting the disciples not to fast; (δ) permitting the disciples to break the Sabbath by plucking corn; (ε) Jesus Himself breaking the Sabbath in curing a man with a withered hand on that day.

iii. 7–12, Jesus with the multitudes by the seaside.

(3) *More advanced Galilean Ministry*, iii. 13–vii. 23.

This is characterised by fuller teaching on the manner in which the kingdom comes, and by greater wonders.

iii. 13–19, The call of the Twelve.

20–30, Jesus accused of alliance with Satan; His answer; the unpardonable sin.

31–35, Christ's mother and His brethren.

iv. 1–34, A group of parables about the kingdom: the sower, the lamp, seed growing automatically, the mustard seed.

The "seed growing automatically" is only in Mark.

35–41, The storm calmed.

v. 1–20, The Gerasene demoniac and the swine.

21–43, The cure of the woman who touched Christ's garment, and the raising of Jairus's daughter.

vi. 1–6, Jesus rejected at Nazareth.

7–13, The mission of the Twelve.

14–29, The murder of John the Baptist.

30–44, The feeding of the five thousand.

45–56, Christ walking on the sea; His return to Gennesaret; many cures.

vii. 1–23, Defilement from within, not from without.

(4) *Retirement before Opposition, and Further Teaching of the Select Few*, vii. 24–ix.

vii. 24–37, The Syro-Phœnician woman; the deaf mute.

viii. 1–21, The feeding of the four thousand; leaven.

22–26, A blind man at Bethsaida seeing men as trees.

This incident and that of "the deaf mute" (vii. 24–37) only in Mark.

27–ix. 1, Peter's confession at Cæsarea, and Christ's first announcement of His death.

ix. 2–32, The transfiguration; cure of the lunatic boy; Christ's second announcement of His death.

33–50, The example of the little child, and the evil of causing a little one to stumble.

(5) *Christ in Peræa*, x.

x. 1–10, Jesus forbidding divorce.

13–16, Jesus blessing children.

17–22, The young man who refused to give up all for Christ.

23–31, The difficulty of a rich man entering the kingdom.

32–45, Christ's third prediction of His death, followed by the ambitious request of Zebedee's sons, and His announcement of His mission to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many.

46–52, Bartimæus at Jericho cured of his blindness.

(6) *The Last Days in Jerusalem*, xi.–xvi.

xi. 1–11, The triumphant entry.

12–26, The withered fig tree, the cleansing of the temple, the power of faith, and the duty of forgiveness.

27–33, Christ challenged for His authority; His reply challenge.

xii. 1–12, The parable of the vineyard.

13–40, Questions to entrap Christ: (α) the Pharisees' and Herodians' question on the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar; (β) the Sadducees' question on marriage and the future life; (γ) the scribe's question on the commandments; (δ) Christ's question about David's son, and warning against the scribes.

41–44, The widow's mites.

xiii., Apocalyptic predictions of coming woes, and warnings to escape.

xiv. 1, 2, Decision of the council about the arrest of Jesus.

3–9, The woman with the cruse of ointment.

10, 11, Judas bargaining to betray Jesus for money.

12–31, The Passover, the indication of the traitor, the Lord's Supper, and the warning of Peter's denial.

32–52, Gethsemane, the betrayal, and the arrest.

53–65, The trial of Jesus before the council.

66–72, Peter's denial of Christ.

xv. 1–15, The trial before Pilate and the release of Barabbas.

16–20, The mockery.

21–47, The crucifixion, death, and burial of Jesus.

xvi. 1–8, The women at the empty tomb.

9–20, Appendix with summary of resurrection appearances.

The Concluding Section.—This section (verses 9–20) is bracketed by Westcott and Hort, and is rejected by many critics as not a part of the original text. The reasons for that judgment are both documentary and intrinsic: (1) *Documentary.* The section is not found in the two oldest MSS. (ℵ and B). An old Latin MS. k. and some Armenian and Æthiopian MSS. are also wanting in it. Eusebius and Jerome both say that it was absent from many MSS., and Dr. Hort suggests that perhaps Eusebius rested on the authority of Origen in his doubts concerning the passage. The "Eusebian canons"[1] end at verse 8. Neither Justin Martyr nor Clement of Alexandria make any reference to the contents of these verses. (2) *Intrinsic.* The most serious objections arise from a consideration of the verses themselves: (α) We meet with several words not usual in Mark. Thus ἐκεῖνος occurs five times in this short section in an unusual sense, without any emphasis; πορεύομαι occurs three times, though it is used nowhere else in the gospel; and ἐθεάθη twice. (β) Verse 18 contains marvels that suggest a later age. (γ) Mary Magdalene is introduced with a description identifying her as one "from whom He had cast out seven devils" (verse 9); and yet she had already appeared twice before in the narrative (xv. 47, xvi. 1). Surely this fact alone must suggest that we have here an alien document. (δ) Jesus is seen in Jerusalem; but according to the earlier narrative the angel bade the disciples go to Galilee to meet Him. That a few verses after that statement He should be described as manifesting Himself to one of the women who heard it on the very same morning, without any explanation of the change of place, is improbable. (ε) Then the whole structure of the passage is unlike Mark. In place of the full graphic style of the gospel we have bald summaries of events. But when we examine these summaries, we find that they add nothing to our knowledge. They could all have been based on the other gospels.

Verse 9 rests on John xx. 14 and Luke viii. 2.

Verses 9, 10 are a natural inference.

Verses 12, 13 are an abridgment of the Emmaus incident of Luke

[1] The Eusebian canons are parallel lists of passages in the three gospels constructed for cross reference, in the form of a harmony.

xxiv. 13-35. The expression, "in another form," is suggested by the fact that the two disciples did not recognise the Risen Christ.

Verse 14 could be founded on Luke xxiv. 36–43, or on John xx. 26–29.

Verse 15 reminds us of Matthew xxviii. 19.

Verse 16 has no parallel in the gospels, but it has a late character. Jesus never required baptism as a condition of salvation.

Verses 17 and 18 also read like late legendary matter.

Verse 19 points to St. Luke's account of the ascension.

Verse 20 is a summary of the history in Acts.[1]

With these objections against it, although nearly all the MSS. contain the passage, it must be held to be not original.[2] A few later MSS. have another ending, viz.: "And they reported briefly to Peter and those in his company all the things commanded. And after these things Jesus Himself also sent forth through them from the east even to the west the holy and incorruptible message of eternal salvation." This is evidently a late conclusion, added to round off the work. Certainly the gospel did not end originally at verse 8. No one would finish with the Greek words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. Even the MS. B, which has neither conclusion, leaves a blank space between these words and the beginning of Luke. We must consider, then, that the original conclusion was early lost, perhaps the final page accidentally torn out of the autograph.

f. *Characteristics.*—St. Mark's style is essentially graphic. He, more than either of the other two synoptic authors, writes like an eye-witness. This suggests his fidelity in reproducing St. Peter's vivid impressions. He has an eye for the concrete. He loves colour, and sees it (*e.g.*, vi. 39.) So freshly does he realise his narrative, that at times he gives us the sharp abruptness of the original dialogue in startling fashion, as for instance, "What is this? A new teaching! With authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits," etc. (i. 27., R.V.). His language, though not so Hebraistic as Matthew, is still much influenced by Hebrew phrases.

Especially note the use of *ἐγένετο*, for "it came to pass"; the idiom *δύο δύο* for "two by two," similarly *συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί*; the simple linking together of sentences with "and," instead of by the varied connections of classic Greek.

The gospel omits the narratives of the infancy, only briefly

[1] The result of this analysis is against accepting Mr. Conybeare's suggestion that the passage was written by Aristion, on the authority of an Armenian MS. (A.D. 986), which assigns it to the presbyter *Ariston*. Papias describes Aristion as an immediate disciple of our Lord. (Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 39.) Would such a man make a mere summary of statements in the gospels, many of them second and third hand statements?

[2] The integrity of the passage was vehemently defended by Dean Burgon, *On the last twelve verses of St. Mark.*

touches on the temptation, and is chiefly devoted to the active works of Jesus in His Galilean ministry. It gives much less space to the teaching of Christ than Matthew and Luke, and it dwells at length on the miracles, devoting special attention to those that concern demoniacal possession.

4. **Luke.**

a. *St. Luke the Evangelist.*—It appears from Colossians iv. 14 that St. Luke was a Gentile, as his name is not included in the list of "those of the circumcision." From the same passage we learn that he was a physician. The mention of his name here and in Philemon 24, shows that he was with St. Paul during at least part of the first imprisonment at Rome. The only other occasion in which his name occurs in the N.T. is at 2 Timothy iv. 11, where we find him again with the apostle, this time during the second imprisonment,[1] and as the only faithful attendant after all others had forsaken Paul. Thus we discover his close relations with the apostle. Then, granting that he was the author of the passages in Acts, written in the first person plural,[2] we are able to carry our information further back. There we learn that he accompanied the apostle from Troas to Philippi, when St. Paul made his first journey in Europe (Acts xvi. 10–17). The resumption of the narrative in the third person implies that the apostle left him at Philippi. About six years later Paul was again at Philippi, and there he again met Luke, who then travelled with him to Jerusalem—as the resumption of the "we" narrative implies (xx. 5–xxi. 18); he also accompanied the apostle in the voyage to Rome, sharing the experience of the shipwreck at Malta on the way. An ancient legend[3] represents him as a painter. His symbol in Christian Art is the ox or the calf.

b. *Authorship of the Gospel.*—From the second century downwards the third gospel was assigned to Luke. There is

[1] *i.e.*, on the hypothesis that 2 Timothy belongs to a second imprisonment. See chapter viii. [2] See page 342.

[3] First found in Theodore, a reader at Constantinople in the sixth century. MIGNE, *Patr. Gr.*, lxxxvi. 165.

no evidence to indicate that this claim was ever disputed. No other name was ever proposed. The first references to St. Luke's name as that of the author of the gospel are in Irenæus and the *Muratorian Fragment.* Then we have Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, etc., writing of the gospel as Luke's.

Thus Irenæus writes: "Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him" (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 1; see also a fuller account in iii. 14). Here we have the earliest reference to the relation of St. Paul to the third gospel. Undoubtedly it obtained authority in the churches owing to the connection of Paul with Luke, as the second gospel obtained it through Peter's relations with Mark, so that all four gospels were accredited with apostolic authority. But we cannot regard the cases as parallel, seeing that Paul was not, like Peter, a witness of the events of our Lord's life and work, and the preface to the third gospel shows that its author sought information from eye-witnesses. The gospel can only be traced to St. Paul in the spirit of it.[1]

The *Muratorian Fragment* has the phrase, "The third book of the gospel, that according to Luke."[2] For the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, see Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 14; for Tertullian's, see *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 2 and 5; for Origen's, see Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 25, etc.

c. *Genuineness.*—There can be no doubt that the references of Irenæus and later fathers to St. Luke are directed to our gospel; the citations prove it. We cannot go further back with the name, but the very fact that so obscure a person is unanimously indicated speaks for genuineness. There would be no motive to select a scarcely known personage for the purpose of pseudonymous writing. And the history of the gospel itself is older than these references. It is used in Tatian's harmony, as we can now see for ourselves.[3] Therefore it must have been recognised and read in the churches of Syria soon after the middle of the second century. The presence of it in the Peshitto witnesses to the same fact. It seems to have been one of the "Memoirs of the Apostles" used by Justin Martyr.

[1] When St. Paul says "My gospel" (*e.g.*, Rom. ii. 16), he cannot mean our third gospel or any other written narrative. Any idea of the kind is an anachronism. The reference must be to the message he delivered, the good tidings he proclaimed, especially to righteousness and life in Christ, through the cross, and by faith.

[2] In barbarous Latin—TERTIO EUANGELII LIBRUM SECUNDO LUCAN.

[3] See *The Earliest Life of Christ*, etc.

Thus Justin mentions several facts only found in this gospel, *e.g.*, "Elizabeth as the mother of the Baptist, the sending of Gabriel to Mary, the census under Quirinius, there being no room in the inn, Jesus' ministry beginning when He was 30 years old, His being sent by Pilate to Herod, His last cry, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit'" (1 *Apol.* xxxiv.; *Tryph.*, lxxviii., lxxxvi., c., ciii., cv., cvi.).[1]

Celsus must have known the third gospel, as he refers to the genealogy representing Jesus as descended from the first man (Origen, *Con. Cels.* ii. 32). In the epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne there is a quotation from this gospel.[2] It also seems to have been referred to in the Clementine Homilies, commented on by Heracleon, and known to Basilides and Valentinus. It may be referred to by Hermas,[3] but we cannot trace it with confidence to any of the Apostolic Fathers, though it seems to have been known to the author of the *Didachè*.[4] Its private dedication suggests that it was not at first intended for the churches, and this fact may account for its not being so much used in the earliest times as Matthew. Harnack now pronounces decisively in favour of St. Luke's authorship of the gospel, and Ramsay is continually accumulating evidences of St. Luke's correctness as a historian.

d. *Marcion's Gospel.*—The most important testimony to the antiquity of our third gospel is to be found in the use of it by Marcion. This great reformer and heretic came to Rome about A.D. 140, with a N.T. of his own selection, consisting of one gospel and ten epistles. The title of the gospel gives us no indication of its authorship, as Marcion simply calls it "the gospel of the Lord" or "the gospel of Christ." But an examination of its contents, most of which can be recovered from Tertullian, shows that it was founded on Luke.

Baur held that Marcion's gospel was the original, a Pauline gospel, which the writer of Luke had softened down to suit Catholic ideas; but this opinion once held by the Tübingen School was given up by Baur's successor, Hilgenfeld, who showed that Luke was the original. Ritschl too contended for the priority of Luke, which is now generally admitted. None of the fathers mention Marcion's gospel as used by any but his own

[1] PLUMMER, *Internat. Crit. Com.*, *St. Luke*, p. xv.
[2] See EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, v. 1, compared with Luke i. 6, 67.
[3] See TAYLOR, *The Witness of Hermas*, p. 34. [4] xvi. 1.

followers. Its omissions and alterations can be perfectly accounted for as made in order to bring the gospel into harmony with Marcion's teachings. Thus Luke i. and ii. with the accounts of the infancy, and the genealogy and the temptation from chapters iii. and iv., are omitted as inconsistent with Marcion's docetism. For Luke xiii. 28, instead of "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," we have "the righteous"; and at xvi. 17, Marcion's gospel reads, "It is easier for heaven and earth, the law and the prophets, to fail than one tittle of the word of the Lord"—alterations made to suit his gnostic anti-Judaism.

e. *The Preface.*—Luke opens with an elaborate dedication to a person of high rank—as the title "most excellent" indicates[1]—bearing the name Theophilus. We have no means of knowing who this man was, but it is not probable that the name is fictitious, to designate "the pious reader." The title of rank is against that idea. In this dedication the evangelist states both the occasion which led him to write the gospel, and the method he pursued in preparing himself for the task. He tells us that many had taken in hand to draw up a narrative "of the gospel occurrences." There is no ground for the assumption that either Matthew or Mark is here referred to. The surprising thing is that even as early as St. Luke's time there were already *many* attempts at the writing of gospels. St. Luke does not directly condemn these attempts, or profess, as is sometimes assumed, to correct and supersede them. The form of his language only implies emulation to follow the example of others, with an excuse for writing in that example. Still the tone and spirit of the preface do certainly suggest a depreciatory regard for the earlier attempts. The expression "taken in hand" implies as much; and the indefinite "many" without giving any names—as though he had said "gospels by the cart-load"—also suggests that no high value was set on the works. Still more, St. Luke's careful declaration of his own method of work cannot but suggest his belief that no such pains had been taken by his predecessors. He here informs us first that the narrative is to deal with what had been received from "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word"—people who had seen the events described, and had themselves

[1] Strictly speaking it belongs to a man of the Equestrian Order. See RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, etc., p. 388 (1).

taken part in them. These must be disciples who accompanied our Lord on His travels. Then he says he "traced the course of all things accurately from the first," a claim to diligent searching and careful observation, the conscientious work of a trained and disciplined mind. There is no excuse for doubting St. Luke's good faith, when he comes thus before us claiming our confidence in him as a trustworthy historian.

It is true St. Luke's words do not necessarily imply that in every case he took his facts from the lips of the witnesses. The phrase, "as they delivered (*παρέδοσαν*) them unto us," would apply to tradition. But the whole passage shows that the author took pains to obtain the most accurate information, and he was contemporary with many of the witnesses. He does not say whether he received his information orally or in writing. We shall see in the next chapter that he used written material, and that these were not all first hand. What he assures us is that he was careful to get what had been testified to by the men who took part in the events recorded.

The Difficulty of the Census.—St. Luke tells us that a decree went out from Cæsar Augustus for a universal census; that the first census took place when Quirinius was governor of Syria; that every one went to his own city for this object; and that thus Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem (ii. 1–4). Several objections have been raised against these statements. (1) Herod was reigning as king, and his subjects would not come into a Roman census. (2) A Roman census goes by households, not by family relations and pedigrees. (3) No census of the Roman empire occurred at the time when Jesus was born, though there was a census under Quirinius in A.D. 6. (4) Quirinius was not governor of Syria when Jesus was born; his administration was from A.D. 6 to 9, and Quinctilius Varus was then governor of Syria. These difficulties have been considerably lightened by recent researches. The following points may now be urged in defence of St. Luke's correctness:—(1) In the year 8–7 B.C., Augustus wrote a letter to Herod informing him that whereas he had regarded him hitherto as a friend, henceforth he would treat him as a subject. From that time Herod's dominions would be an integral part of the Roman empire. (2) Herod would administer the census on Jewish lines to conciliate his people. (3) Documents recently discovered in Egypt have made it clear that periodical enrolments were carried on in that province every fourteen years, and working back from those that are referred to in these records, we come to the year 8–7 B.C. for one of these Egyptian censuses. It is likely enough that the letter to Herod would be followed by the extension of the census to Palestine, and thus a little later than in Egypt. But the new *Dictionary of the Bible* on independent grounds fixes the year 6 B.C. for the birth of Jesus, which exactly coincides with this date of the census. (4) St. Luke does not use the substantive "governor" or "*legate*" (*ἡγεμών*), but the verb in the participle, "acting as leader" (*ἡγεμονεύοντος*). Now it is known that before the death of Herod, Quirinius was engaged in a war among the Taurus mountains, that affected the foreign relations of Syria. Professor Ramsay argues that it is the military position of Quirinius that is referred to by St. Luke.

Mommsen argued that Quirinius was twice legate of Syria on the evidence of an anonymous marble inscription found in the Tiber in the year 1764, which records the career of a high officer who twice governed Syria in the time of Augustus, though his name has not been preserved. It is difficult to find a time when Quirinius could have held the legate's office twice. Professor Ramsay assigns the first governing to the military position he held in the war.[1] At all events St. Luke's historicity is considerably vindicated.

f. *Date and Place of Origin.*—The gospel must have been written before Acts, as it is referred to in that work. (Acts i. 1, 2.) If therefore Acts were written at the time when the history of it ends (A.D. 62), Luke would be earlier than that date. But there is no reason to assign the later work to the time when the events in the narrative cease, and there are strong reasons for giving both Acts and the gospel a later date. If St. Luke used Mark,[2] the latest date for Mark must precede the earliest for Luke. Then a comparison of Luke with the other two synoptics shows that while they seem to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Third Gospel was written after that event. In our Lord's apocalyptic discourse in place of obscure allusions to "the abomination of desolation," etc. with the writer's comment, "Let him that readeth understand," we have a clear description of the siege and its issue. (Luke xxi. 20, 24.) And further, while the final judgment is associated with the doom of Jerusalem in the other synoptics, in Luke it is distinguished from the local event, and a vague interval placed between the two in the statement, "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." (Luke xxi. 24.) On the other hand, if St. Luke wrote the gospel, we cannot assign to it a very late date, for even if he lived to a great age, it is not likely that he would have postponed so important a work to the end of his life.[3] And then it precedes Acts. Perhaps the nearest we can come to the date is to suggest about A.D. 75. There

[1] See RAMSAY, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*

[2] See next chapter.

[3] The case of St. John with his reflective gospel is quite different, and by contrast confirms the earlier date of Luke.

is no evidence concerning the place of origin. St. Luke's connection with Philippi *suggests* that city.

g. *Contents.*

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(2) *The Infancy*, i. 5–ii.

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57–80, Birth of John the Baptist; Zacharias' psalm of praise.

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(3) *The Preparation*, iii.–iv. 13.

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50–56, Joseph and the burial of Jesus.

xxiv. 1–12, The women at the tomb; Peter also there.

13–35, The journey to Emmaus.

36–43, Jesus appearing to His disciples, and eating fish before them.

44–49, His final commission.

50–53, The Ascension.

h. *Characteristics.*—Luke is written in better Greek style than the other synoptic gospels. The Preface is the best Greek in the N.T. The hymns in the earlier chapters, however, are thoroughly Hebraistic in style as well as thought, a clear sign that the evangelist did not compose them himself, but that he transferred them to his pages in the form in which he found them. The construction of the gospel differs from Mark in allowing more space to the teachings of Jesus, as is the case with Matthew also; but frequently it differs from Matthew in placing more of the sayings of Christ in direct connection with the events which furnished the occasion for uttering them—Matthew having more blocks of sayings without intermediate narrative. Thus the sayings of Matthew's "Sermon on the Mount" are distributed over two or three portions of the narrative in Luke. Like Matthew, and unlike Mark, Luke has an account of the infancy of Christ, which is much fuller in the third gospel than in the first; and the association of John the Baptist's birth is here introduced. Luke has a considerable section of history and some most important teaching belonging to the later part of our Lord's ministry, largely in Perea and by the Jordan, which is not found in the other synoptics—that containing the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, the prodigal son, the unrighteous steward, the rich man and Lazarus, the unrighteous judge, the Pharisee and the publican, the incident of the ten lepers, etc. This indicates some special source of his own.

The aim and purpose of the gospel, as the author indicates in his preface, is to give a connected account of the life and teachings of Christ. It has been asserted that he has manipulated his materials under the influence of a doctrinal bias, and this in two directions: (1) *Ebionite.* St. Luke shows especial sympathy for the poor, as for example his version of the Beatitudes with corresponding woes for the rich (vi. 20–26) and the parable of Dives and Lazarus indicate. His gospel contains our Lord's sternest denunciations of the abuse of wealth. (2) *Pauline.* Many phrases in Luke

resemble phrases in St. Paul's writings.[1] The Pauline liberalism is repeatedly manifested, and the richness of the doctrine of grace illustrated. Yet we cannot deny that all the facts were found by St. Luke in the reports of the work and teaching of Christ that came into his hands, though he naturally looks at them in his own way. Nor are these two elements contradictory, as their titles might suggest. Certainly the gospel is not anti-Jewish in the narrow sense of the term.

The early narratives commend O.T. piety; Jesus is known as the Son of David (xviii. 38, xx. 41); salvation is first for Israel (xiii. 16, xix. 9); and the apostles are for the twelve tribes of Israel (xxii. 30).[2]

Other characteristics that have been observed in this gospel are (1) the importance attached to prayer both in the example of Christ and in His teaching on the subject, (2) the joyous tone that pervades the narrative, and the scope it gives for expressions of praise and thanksgiving, (3) the admirable narrative style, and character painting, as in Zacharias, Anna, Zacchæus, Herod Antipas, (4) the writer's care to note the course of historical development—seen for instance in the way he marks the end of the Galilean ministry, and the successive stages of the journey up to Jerusalem, (5) his fondness for domestic scenes, such for example as the anecdote of Mary and Martha.[3]

Blass holds that St. Luke issued two editions of his gospel—the first, represented by the accepted text, for Palestine readers; the second, when at Rome, represented by the MS. D, for western readers.[4]

[1] Compare Luke iv. 32 with 1 Cor. ii. 4; vi. 36 with 2 Cor. i. 3; vi. 39 with Rom. ii. 19; vi. 48 with 1 Cor. iii. 10; vii. 8 with Rom. iii. 1; viii. 12 with 1 Cor. i. 21 and Rom. i. 16; viii. 13 with 1 Thess. i. 6; x. 7 with 1 Tim. v. 18; x. 8 with 1 Cor. x. 27; x. 16 with 1 Thess. iv. 8; x. 20 with Phil. iv. 3; xi. 7 with Gal. iv. 17; xi. 29 with 1 Cor. i. 22; xi. 41 with Tit. i. 15; xii. 35 with Eph. vi. 14; xii. 42 with 1 Cor. iv. 2; xiii. 27 with 2 Tim. ii. 19; xviii. 1 with Col. i. 3, 2 Thess. i. 11, and Gal. vi. 9; xx. 16 with Rom. ix. 14, xi. 11, Gal. iii. 21; xx. 22, 25 with Rom. xiii. 7; xx. 35 with 2 Thess. i. 5; xx. 38 with Rom. vi. 11 and Gal. ii. 19; xxi. 23 with 1 Thess. ii. 16; xxi. 24 with Rom. xi. 25; xxi. 34 with 1 Thess. v. 3–5; xxi. 36 with Eph. vi. 18; xxii. 53 with Col. i. 13.—See PLUMMER, xlv.

[2] See WEISS, *N.T. Introd.*, ii. p. 308.

[3] See PLUMMER, p. xlviii.

[4] *Philology of the Gospels*, chap. ix.

CHAPTER II.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

1. Resemblances.
2. Differences.
3. Proposed Explanations.
4. Probable Conclusions.

The first three gospels are often called "the synoptics"[1] from the fact that they take a common view of the life and teaching of Christ, in contrast with St. John's very different treatment of the subject; and the synoptic problem arises from the complications of their mutual relationship. If they invariably followed the same lines we should naturally infer, either that they were derived entirely from one or more common sources, or that they were dependent one upon another; and if they moved in quite distinct planes we should reckon them to be independent and separate narratives. But the peculiar difficulty of the problem is found in the fact that neither of these characteristics is to be observed in them uniformly throughout. For a time two or all three of them will run in closely parallel lines; then for no reason that we can easily discover one will suddenly branch off into a region of its own, to return to its companions later on, in the same sudden style. Or all three will diverge for a time and go their own way, and then reunite either at the same place or one after the other.

While these variations necessarily complicate the problem, they supply us with hints concerning the composition of the gospels which, when followed up, may lead to luminous conclusions. Thus the result of the study of the synoptic problem will be to take us a stage back towards the actual

[1] From *σῦν* and *ὄψις*.

events by introducing us to the original sources in which the evangelists found the materials for their books. We have to notice, therefore, both the resemblances and the differences, and then, if possible, to account for them and discover what they imply.

1. **The Resemblances.**

These may be observed in the following particulars :—

a. *A Common Plan.*—After separate accounts of the infancy of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, Mark joins them, and then all three give the ministry of John the Baptist, followed by the baptism and temptation of Jesus, and the commencement of His ministry. From this time they rigidly confine their attention to scenes in the north, although St. John is able to describe much that happened in Judæa and Samaria. Moreover, they are most explicit with regard to the first year of our Lord's public work, hurrying over the later times till they come to the last week, where all three of them enter into the fulness of the details.

b. *A Common Selection of Incidents.*—Although our Lord's public ministry probably occupied over two years, during which time He would have said and done many things not recorded in any of our gospels—as an appendix to the fourth gospel recognises (John xxi. 25)—the synoptics concur in giving us many incidents in common. They do not record more incidents than could have been included in a few weeks if they all had happened together; how is it then that they accept so many of the same incidents out of the immense number that filled the whole period over which their narratives are spread?

If we reckon the incidents to be 88,[1] we find them distributed as follows :—

In all three gospels . . .	42
In Mark and Matt. . . .	12
In Mark and Luke . . .	5
In Matt. and Luke . . .	12
Common Incidents .	71

[1] This is a slight modification of Dr. Davidson's reckoning

Only in Mark	. . . .	3
Only in Matt.	. . . .	5
Only in Luke	. . . .	9
	Exclusive Incidents .	17
	Total .	88

Thus we have nearly half the total number of incidents in each of the synoptics, 71 shared by at least two gospels, and in Mark only three which are not also found in one or other of the companion gospels. Can this be accidental?

c. *Similar Groups of Scenes.*—We often meet with the same succession of detached events in two or all three of the synoptics, the same selection of incidents which were separated by intervals of time.

For example, the cure of the paralytic, the call of Levi, the question of fasting in all three (Matthew ix. 1–17; Mark ii. 1–22; Luke v. 17–39); the cornfield incident and the cure of the withered hand—events separated by a week (Matthew xii. 1–21; Mark ii. 23–iii. 6; Luke vi. 1–11); Jesus feeding the multitude, and walking on the sea, Peter's confession and the transfiguration and following events (Matthew xv. 32–xvii. 23; Mark viii. 1–ix. 32, and also Luke ix. 10–45). The third evangelist omits the walking on the sea, but he too brings the transfiguration incident next to St. Peter's confession, and yet he tells us that there was an interval of eight days between them. Can it be accidental that all three synoptic writers do this, that all of them are silent on the occurrences of that week of travel at a most critical time? Still more striking is the way in which the death of John the Baptist is introduced alike by Matthew and Mark (Matthew xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17). In neither case does this appear where the account of John's work is given, but in both cases it is brought in later, parenthetically, to explain Herod's terrors. Thus we read in each of these gospels that the king hearing the fame of Jesus, said He was John risen from the dead, "*for* Herod" had arrested John, and so on, with the ghastly narrative of the murder, in both cases introduced by way of explanation with the word "for" (γὰρ). It is impossible to regard this coincidence as accidental.

d. *Verbal Agreement.*—There are many instances in which the gospels agree quite verbally. This is most frequently the case in the reports of sayings of Jesus, as might be expected. But it is also found in narrative passages where the words employed are not of vital importance. A striking kind of coincidence is that in which quotations from the O.T. are found in two gospels with the same variations from the LXX

Matthew iii. 3, Mark i. 3, and Luke iii. 4 have a quotation from Isaiah xl. 3, in which they agree word for word, though at the end they depart from the Greek text they are citing—all three having "His paths" τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ, while the LXX., correctly following the Hebrew original, has "the paths of our God" (τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν). Dr. Abbott has drawn out a careful analysis of the verbal identities and variations in Matthew xxi. 33–44, Mark xii. 1–11, Luke xx. 9–18.[1] Similar results will be obtained if we make other comparisons. Take for instance Matthew ix. 1–8, Mark ii. 1–12, Luke v. 17–26. Coming to verse 5 in Mark we find that they verbally agree except that Matthew and Luke have εἶπα (in Luke εἶπεν) for Mark's λέγει, a change of no significance, the words having the same meaning; that Matthew adds, "be of good cheer" (Θάρσει), and that Luke omits Jesus (ὁ Ἰησοῦς), and substitutes the less Hebraistic "man" (ἄνθρωπε) for the "son" (τέκνον) in Matthew and Mark. That is to say, except for Matthew's striking addition, "be of good cheer!" we have none but alterations such as editors make. In verse 5 Matthew reads like an abbreviation of Mark; except that he has softened the text by inserting "for" (γάρ), every word in Matthew is also in Mark. Turning to Luke we find him word for word as Matthew, except that he has not included Matthew's added word "for," but has added "thee" (σοι), and in one case changed the order of another word to suit this addition (placing σου after its substantive). Then at verse 10 in Mark we have a parenthetic construction that is repeated in both the parallels, and the phrases are verbally identical, except that Matthew, according to his method, adds a word (τότε) to make the style more smooth; and that Luke has one synonymous word variation (εἶπεν again for λέγει).

2. **The Differences.**

If we only had the agreements to consider, there would not be much difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the synoptic problem. But now we are confronted with equally striking differences, and these too have to be accounted for.

a. *Accounts of Different Events.*—We scarcely need to explain the fact that some gospels give us incidents that are not recorded in other gospels. That is not a difficult position to face. The surprise is that there are so few cases of solitary narration.

b. *Differences in the Several Accounts of the Same Events.*—Occasionally the variations are too serious to be set down to editorial liberty in dealing with the same materials. For instance, while Luke gives a full and detailed narrative of the birth of Christ, with clear statements about the life

[1] See *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Gospels."

of Mary and Joseph in Nazareth before that happened, Matthew betrays no knowledge that they had ever been to Nazareth before the return from Egypt, when they would have gone back to Bethlehem if they had not heard about Archelaus, information which induced them to avoid his territory and led to their settling in Nazareth, which city the evangelist here introduces for the first time into his narrative, saying of Joseph, "And being warned of God in a dream, he withdrew into the parts of Galilee: and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets," etc. (Matthew ii. 23.) Then Matthew and Luke give the accounts of the second and third temptations in different order. (Matthew iv. 5–11; Luke iv. 6–12.) The greater part of Luke's version of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew v. 1) is given as spoken on a level place ("and He came down and stood on a level place" (Luke vi. 17)—no real contradiction, but a variation). Luke's version of the Beatitudes reduces the number, omits the more spiritual attributes, and is followed by corresponding denunciation—three important differences from Matthew's. (Luke vi. 20–26; Matthew v. 3–12.) Other sayings from the Sermon on the Mount appear in various parts of Mark and Luke.[1] Matthew (xiii. 53–58) and Mark (vi. 1–6) give the visit of Jesus to Nazareth and His rejection some way on in His ministry after work in Capernaum, etc.; Luke (iv. 16–30) at the very commencement, and as the occasion of His going down to Capernaum, apparently for the first time, for he adds, "And He came down to Capernaum, *a city of Galilee*" (verse 31). We cannot suppose them different visits, for the surprise at the carpenter's son, the proverb about the prophet not being honoured in his own country, the failure to work miracles, etc. occur in the other two gospels accounts just

[1] In Mark iv. 24. Following Matthew's consecutive order, we have passages scattered over Luke as follows: Luke vi. 20–26; xi. 33; xiv. 34, 35; xvi. 17; xii. 57–59; xvi. 18; vi. 29, 30; vi. 27, 28, 32–36; xi. 2–4; xii. 33, 34; xi. 34–36; xvi. 13; xii. 22–31; vi. 37–42—with additions; xi. 9–13; vi. 31; xiii. 23, 24; vi. 43–45; vi. 46; xiii. 26, 27; vi. 47–49.

as in Luke. Then Mark (x. 46) and Matthew (xx. 29) have the cure of Bartimæus on the departure from Jericho; but Luke (xviii. 35; xix. 1) at the entrance into the city. Considerable variations occur in the resurrection incidents. In particular we have to notice that Matthew and Mark know of no appearances in Jerusalem,[1] and only represent that the disciples must go to Galilee to see Jesus; but Luke gives accounts of appearances in and near Jerusalem. Then we have Matthew's curious couples: *two* demoniacs (Matt. viii. 28)—Mark (v. 2) and Luke (viii. 27) have but one; *two* blind men at Jericho (Matt. xx. 30. *cf.* Mark x. 46, Luke xviii. 35); the ass as well as its colt brought for the use of Jesus, and the garments laid on both. (Matt. xxi. 7. *cf.* Mark xi. 7, Luke xix. 35).

c. *Verbal Differences.*—These are most striking where the general resemblance is most close. In the passages which we compared above, viz., Matthew ix. 1–17, Mark ii. 1–23, Luke v. 18–39, we saw some curious verbal modifications where the sentences ran close together. But in those very passages there are sentences which totally differ.

Mark ii. 1 is quite different from the parallels in Matthew and Luke. Verse 2 is not represented at all in the other gospels; at verse 3 we have great variation; verse 4 is not represented in Matthew: in Luke it is represented with variations; verses 6 and 7 are represented by variations; verse 8 is nearer to Luke than to Matthew, or than Matthew is to Mark;[2] verses 11, 12, 13 are also represented with great variations.

3. Proposed Explanations.

The history of the synoptic problem reveals the greatest divergence of view as to the probable solution of it. Happily in recent years those divergences have been narrowing, and a nearer approach to a general agreement on the question has been arrived at among critical students of the gospels. The proposed hypotheses group themselves in three classes: (1) Oral tradition; (2) earlier sources in writing; (3) mutual dependence. The theory of oral tradition dispenses with all

[1] *i.e.*, on the understanding that Mark xvi. 9–20 is not a part of the original gospel. See page 302.

[2] *e.g.*, both have ἐπιγνοὺς, while Matthew has ἰδὼν, and both a form of the word διαλογίζομαι.

idea of literary connection between the gospels, taking their agreements to come from the fixing of the very words of tradition, after the methods of rabbinical teaching common among the Jews at the time when they were written, while of course it easily accounts for the variations in the text. The second hypothesis—that of earlier sources—looks for these in the allusions of Patristic writers, such as Papias' reference to Matthew's *Logia*, and in the results of an analysis of the gospels. The theory of mutual dependence is of course based upon the latter process. According to this theory the earliest gospel was used by its two successors, or by the third only through the medium of the second. It is evident that these theories admit of indefinite modification and also of combination. It is quite legitimate to argue that all three processes were followed—that traditions were followed by the writers, that there were earlier documents which they employed, that they used one another's works.

It is no longer possible to accept Chrysostom's comforting suggestion that the agreements between the evangelists prove their truthfulness and the divergences their independence. The problem is too complicated for that ready solution. Augustin held that each evangelist worked on the production of his predecessor, and in particular that Mark was an abridgment of Matthew. The latter position is impossible. Where they are on the same ground, Mark is fuller than Matthew. In the eighteenth century, in Germany, Lessing from the world of literary criticism suggested that the *gospel according to the Hebrews* lay behind our gospels. His idea was taken up by N.T. students, and Eichhorn proposed a primitive Syro-Chaldaic gospel as the basis. Then Marsh, an Englishman, pointed out coincidences in the Greek that demanded an original in that language, with arguments which convinced Eichhorn, who now modified his theory, and added that a Greek translation of his Syro-Chaldaic gospel was in the hands of our evangelists. In the year 1818 Gieseler, on a suggestion of Herder, worked out the theory that there was an oral primitive gospel in Aramaic (the modern name for Eichhorn's Syro-Chaldaic language), *i.e.*, a fixed tradition in set words, which had been put into Greek by St. Paul,[1] and afterwards changed in various ways by the other apostles. Matthew and Mark represent the later apostolic gospels, while Luke comes nearer the early Pauline form of it. The great theologian Schleiermacher, perhaps the most influential theologian of the century, proposed a more scientific theory: (1) The basis of Matthew was an Aramaic collection of the sayings of Christ, the *Logia* described by Papias. (2) Our Mark was founded on an earlier work by St. Mark, the "Primitive Mark" (*Urmarkus*, of which much has since been heard

[1] Hence the expression "my gospel," said to be used of this very book.

in later criticism). (3) Luke was founded on a series of small fragments. Credner followed, proposing as the basis of our gospels two documents—the *Logia* and the Primitive Mark; and Ewald carried the analysis on further, elaborating a succession of writings in as many as nine stages, the last of which is represented by our gospels. This may be regarded as the first period of the history of the problem in modern times.

The second period opens with the work of Baur ("epoch-making," it has been repeatedly called). The "tendency" criticism of the Tübingen School, inaugurated by Baur, and carried out in some of its details by Schwegler and Zeller, treats the gospels as artificial products of theological prepossessions in which the history is warped and coloured to suit the ideas of the writers. Matthew and Luke represent the opposition of primitive apostolic Christianity and Paulinism, but weakened and modified by the introduction of other elements, Matthew coming from a Petrine source, and Luke being founded on Marcion's gospel, which was strongly anti-Jewish. Mark stands last as mediator, an entirely neutral gospel. This extreme position came to be discredited within the school itself. It is impossible to hold it now. Still Pfleiderer in our own day represents its characteristics to some extent. Mark he takes to be the earliest gospel, and a genuine work of the man whose name it bears—a great admission from a leader of the more radical criticism. Luke comes next, founded on Mark, but altering it to suit Pauline universalism; while Matthew comes last, based on Mark and Luke, and also on some strongly Jewish book, probably *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.[1]

Pfleiderer introduces us to the period of contemporary criticism. This is marked by an abandonment of the more extreme negative positions and a remarkable drawing together of the radical and conservative schools on ground which secures at least the substantial historicity of the gospels. Among the more recent continental writers the following are especially noteworthy:—

Reuss.[2]—The two primitive writings named by Papias—"The Primitive Mark" and the "Logia"—are the basis of the gospels. Our Mark is based on the "Primitive Mark"; our Matthew on the Canonical Mark and the *Logia*; Luke on Matthew and special sources of his own.

Weiss.[3]—First there is the *Logia*, which contains incidents as well as sayings. Mark is based on Peter's preaching and the *Logia*; our Matthew on Mark and the *Logia*; Luke on Mark, the *Logia*, and other sources.

Holtzmann.[4]—First we have two primitive sources—an original Mark and the *Logia*. Matthew and Luke are both based on the two primitive sources, but with the use of additional materials. Later Holtzmann has agreed that our third gospel drew on our first gospel.

Jülicher.[5]—The earliest works are our Mark and the *Logia* of Matthew. Both Matthew and Luke use these; but they both also use other sources. He discusses two hypotheses. (1) Was Mark acquainted with the book of the sayings of Jesus? His answer is that probably

[1] *Urchristenthum*, pp. 359–443.

[2] *Hist. of N.T.* (Eng. Trans.) pp. 175 ff.

[3] *Introd.*, English trans., vol. ii., pp. 203–239.

[4] *Einleitung*, pp. 340–367. [5] *Einleitung*, pp. 207–227.

Mark knew it, and that its existence was the reason why he did not himself supply his own version of the teaching of Jesus, but that he did not make much use of it. (2) Was Luke dependent on Matthew? The answer is that if Matthew was the earlier book, probably Luke would have seen it. But he did not make much use of it. In his fifth and sixth editions Jülicher argues that Mark knew the Aramaic *Logia*, but that Matthew and Luke used a Greek translation.

Zahn.[1]—Matthew's Hebrew gospel comes first (*c.* A.D. 62), Mark follows (*c.* 67), Luke's gospel comes next (*c.* 75), and finally the Greek Matthew (*c.* 80).

Among English writers the following may be noticed :—

Bishop Westcott—In his work on the gospels supporting the theory of oral tradition and documentary independence.

Abbott.[2]—By a comparison of the three gospels a common narrative may be extracted. This is called "the triple tradition."

Salmon.[3]—(1) There was one common narrative. (2) This must have been in writing, not a merely oral tradition. (3) It was in Greek. (4) It came so near to Mark that we may regard it as our Mark, though slight editorial alterations must be allowed for. Then there was Matthew's *Logia*. Matthew and Luke are based on these two works, but with other sources also. The difference in the narratives of the infancy, etc., shows that they were independent of one another.

Sanday.[4]—Accepts Mark and the *Logia* as the chief authorities ; but he points out the probability of other sources being used by the writers of the first and the third gospels, who sometimes prefer these to Mark and the *Logia* in parallel passages. This accounts for their very different versions of some incidents and sayings of Christ.

Recent investigations have revived the question as to whether an Aramaic document was used by all three evangelists. In this way the appearance of synonymous words in the three gospels[5] may be accounted for, and so too perhaps some discrepancies. Resch maintains that there must have been an Aramaic document behind Mark ; and Professor Marshall has advocated a common Aramaic original ; so has Dr. Abbott.

4. Probable Conclusions.

This narrowing of the issues as the result of recent criticism in various schools is not a little significant. Certain results may be regarded as fairly established. Others are coming out with increasing clearness. The following points seem to be settled with tolerable unanimity :—

(a) *The Priority of Mark to the other Two Synoptics and its*

[1] *Einleitung*, vol. ii., pp. 158 ff. [2] *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Gospels."

[3] *Introd.*, Lectures viii. and ix. [4] D.B.², art. "Gospels."

[5] *e.g.*, κράββατον in Mark ii. 11 ; κλίνην in Matthew ix. 6 ; κλινίδιον in Luke v. 24, for the paralytic's mattress.

Employment in the Construction of both Matthew and Luke.— An important factor of the case is the almost complete absorption of Mark in the other two gospels. This can be accounted for thus. Matthew comes first and takes a large slice of Mark. Luke follows quite independently, and takes *his* large slice. The natural result is that they partly agree and partly differ in their selection, so that while they have a considerable amount of common material from Mark, they each have extracts exclusively their own; but between them they appropriate nearly the whole of Mark. But why not put it the other way, and take Mark as a compilation from the other two synoptics? For one thing because Mark is a fresh, vigorous, rugged composition, while the other synoptics are smoother in style. It bears on the face of it a character of individuality and original force. Moreover, the difficulty of producing the result as suggested by this alternative would be insuperable in the cases where the three gospels verbally agree, because it is found that, though they are often only loosely parallel, whenever Matthew and Luke verbally agree on a sentence that is also in Mark, that gospel also verbally agreeing. This would be inevitable if both took from Mark. But in the opposite case, *i.e.*, supposing Mark to be based on the two others, the difficulty of picking out the verbal agreements of Matthew and Luke, and reproducing them in Mark would be insuperable; and if successfully accomplished, it would spoil Mark's freshness and power of narration. Besides, it is unreasonable to suppose it would ever be attempted.

We start with Mark, the genuineness of which is now generally conceded. Certain points at which Mark differs from the others suggest that it had been re-edited before it was used for Matthew and Luke. There is no need to call in the hypothesis of a primitive Mark. Its own fresh character is against that hypothesis, and its close resemblance to so much of what is common in Matthew and Luke renders it needless.[1]

[1] Dr. Abbott has shown that Matthew and Luke used a revised edition of Mark, the Canonical Mark being more ancient.

b. *An Original Collection of Sayings of Christ.*—Many sayings of Christ are found in Matthew and Luke which are not in Mark. This applies both to parables and to strings of utterances, making up the twelve sections referred to above.[1] It is generally agreed that this source is Matthew's *Logia*, described by Papias. But it must have been translated into Greek to allow of verbal identities in the Greek renderings of sayings of Christ.[2] And yet it must also have been known in the original Hebrew or Aramaic to account for variations in the translation.

Of course some other collection of the sayings of Christ might have served; but the presumption is in favour of Matthew's *Logia*. We know from Papias that such a book existed; the apostolic authorship would give it authority; and the unanimous ascription of the first gospel—which contains most of our teachings of Christ—to that apostle associates his name with it from very early times, and is a presumption that he was in some way connected with it.

c. *Certain Other Sources Unknown to Us.*—These are required for both the infancy narratives and the resurrection narratives. Neither of those narratives are in Mark; nor could either have been in the *Logia*, because if either had been, then the authors of both the first and the third gospels using that document would have seen it, and would have avoided great divergences between their accounts.[3]

Moreover, St. Luke's authority for the large section of the Peræan teaching that is peculiar to his gospel could scarcely have been the *Logia*, or the first gospel, which gave so much space to the teachings of Jesus, would not have omitted it. In his preface St. Luke leads us to suppose that he had a number of sources.

Two other likely conclusions may be briefly noticed: (1) Probably Mark knew the *Logia*. This will account for his close agreement with Matthew and Luke in so many of his reports of the sayings of Christ. (2) Probably Matthew and Luke were quite independent of one another. The differences where they part from Mark and the *Logia*, as in the infancy and resurrection narratives, point to this conclusion.

But while these results may be considered as fairly settled,

[1] Page 317.

[2] See the rare word ἐπιούσιος in both Matthew's and Luke's versions of the Lord's prayer.

[3] Mentioned on page 288.

some very perplexing questions remain open to speculation. The question of an Aramaic original, behind all the gospels and other than the *Logia*, is still obscure. It looks as though this might account for curious merely *verbal* differences. And then there is the question how far the evangelists who used the *Logia* kept closely to the text of it, or how far that may have been modified before it reached their hands.[1] It is scarcely to be supposed that a document written by one of the Twelve Apostles would be so freely handled as the divergences suggest. Thus, for example, the two accounts of the Beatitudes are so very different, that we cannot believe both evangelists took them from the same original. If they did, which is closest to that original? If Matthew's version is most correct, we must suppose that Luke deliberately emptied it of its spiritual wealth of expression, and reduced it to a more secular form, which would be quite contrary to his character as a historian, and utterly unlike what his preface leads us to expect. But if Luke's is the original version, and the writer of the first gospel expanded it to the proportions now found in that work, we appear to have the evangelist improving on the Master—an impossibility. We seem thus led to the conclusion that there was more than one collection of *Logia* of Christ in the early Church. This is only what we might naturally expect. Perhaps the mistake has been in attributing too much in Luke to Matthew's *Logia*. Luke's parallel sayings in divergent form could be more reasonably attributed to some other collection. We must still admit Mark and the *Logia* as the main sources. But probably more weight and scope should be allowed to the special sources of Luke. Finally, the contact of the evangelists with traditions and living witnesses would lead them to modify what reached them in written sources.

In spite of the difficulties that still beset the problem, we may be thankful that the progress made towards a solution has gone far to establish the historicity of the synoptic records.

[1] As Wernle argues.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

1. Authorship and Historicity.
2. Time and Place of Writing.
3. Contents.
4. Characteristics.

1. Authorship and Historicity.

We cannot speak of the authenticity or genuineness of the gospels in the sense in which we apply those words to the epistles, because all four of these works are anonymous. The titles which they bear in our Bibles were not originally attached to them, and in the text itself there is no direct claim to authorship. Matthew and Mark are perfectly impersonal. Luke, in its preface, contains some personal statements by the writer, but without a hint as to his name. In John we have several statements that point pretty clearly to the identification of the writer. Still he is not named, and it is *possible* to hold as some have done, either (1) that "the beloved disciple" was not St. John, or (2) that "the beloved disciple," though allowed to be St. John, is not claimed by the book itself as its author. These are questions to be examined on their merits apart from ideas of pseudonymity or forgery. Nevertheless the historicity of the gospel is closely bound up with the authorship. To establish the tradition that the Apostle John wrote it is to vindicate its essential historicity.

a. *The Witness of Antiquity.*—The gospel was certainly known and used in the Church soon after the beginning of

the second century, and we have statements attributing it to the Apostle John as early as the middle of that century.

Moreover the Eucharistic prayers in the *Didachè* are very Johannine, though we cannot be certain that they are based on the gospel (*Didachè* 9). The gospel was in the ancient Syriac and in the old Latin of North Africa by the end of the second century.

(1) For the antiquity of the gospel we have some important new evidence furnished in our own age. The recovery of the *Refutation of all Heresies* by Hippolytus enables us to see in that book two quotations from the gospel in gnostic writings cited by Hippolytus. Referring to Valentinus (*c.* A.D. 135) he writes: "Therefore, says he, the Saviour says: All who have come before me are thieves and robbers," plainly taken from John x. 8 (*Ref. Haer.*, vi. 30); and referring to Basilides (*c.* A.D. 133–4): "And this he says is what is said in the gospels: The true light which enlighteneth every man was coming into the world," which is John i. 9 (*Ref. Haer.*, vii. 22); and again also referring to Basilides: "And that each thing, he says, has its own seasons, the Saviour is a sufficient witness, when He says, My hour is not yet come," a saying found only in John ii. 4 (*Ref. Haer.*, vii. 27).[1]

From the internal evidence of his writings it becomes increasingly probable that Justin Martyr knew our gospel — though probably he did not include it among his "Memoirs of the Apostles." Thus in his account of baptism he writes, "For Christ also said, Except ye be born again ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven"—a slight variation of John iii. 3 (1 *Apol.* 61).[2] Then the recent discovery of Tatian's *Diatessaron* makes it certain that its author had the fourth gospel. He begins with the prologue and weaves the contents of the gospel into his composite narrative. Possibly Papias knew our gospel, for Irenæus gives an explanation of the phrase, "In my father's house are many mansions" (John xiv. 2), by "the presbyters," among whom he seems to include Papias (*Adv. Haer.*, v. 36). Certainly he knew the companion writing, 1 John, for Eusebius tells us that he "used testimonies from the first Epistle of John" (*H.E.*, iii. 39). Further, the recent vindication of the Ignatian epistles[3] enables us to use their evidence, and also that of Polycarp's epistle, which stands or falls with them. Now these works are saturated with Johannine ideas and phrases.[4]

[1] It is idle to assert that Hippolytus may have been citing writings of the later followers of these gnostics. The repeated "he says" (*φησί*) in the singular forbids that interpretation.

[2] JUSTIN MARTYR'S evidence is thoroughly discussed and vindicated by Ezra Abbot, *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.*

[3] By Lightfoot and Zahn; their genuineness is accepted by Harnack.

[4] *e.g.*, "Recover yourselves in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love which is the blood of Jesus Christ" (*Trall.* 8); "Living water" (*Rom.* 7); "Children of light" (*Phil.* 2); Christ as the "Word" (*Mag.* 8); "The door of the Father" (*Phil.* 9). Polycarp quotes 1 John iv. 3 (*Ad. Phil.* vii. 1).

(2) For the association of St. John's name with the gospel, the earliest witness is Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 170), who writes, "John says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God"—and more from the same passage in the gospel (*Ad. Autolyc.* 22). Later fathers, Tertullian, Clement A., Origen, etc., all ascribe the gospel to John. Polycrates of Ephesus (A.D. 190), referring to John, says: "He who rested on the bosom of the Lord" (Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 31[1]). In the *Muratorian Fragment* the gospel was attributed to John. But the most important witness is Irenæus, for that father tells us that he has distinct memories of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John. Writing to Florinus, he says: "For I saw thee, when I was still a boy in Lower Asia, in company with Polycarp, while thou wast faring prosperously in the royal court, and endeavouring to stand well with him. For I distinctly remember the incidents of that time better than events of recent occurrence; for the lessons received in childhood, growing with the growth of the soul, become identified with it, so that I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, and about his miracles, and about his teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures. To these discourses I used to listen at the time with attention by God's mercy which was bestowed upon me, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart; and by the grace of God I constantly ruminate upon them faithfully" (Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 20). Now Irenæus is unhesitating in holding that the apostle John wrote the fourth gospel. It is difficult to think that he was mistaken.

[1] Hilgenfeld admits that this is an allusion to John xiii. 25.

b. *Internal Evidence.*—The supreme spiritual worth of the gospel speaks for its apostolic origin. At all events it justifies its veracity, for the book exalts the idea of truth, and sternly denounces falsehood. The verse xxi. 24 is perhaps to be regarded as external evidence, the testimony it may be of the Ephesian elders. At all events, it is very ancient—it is found in all good copies; and it formally authenticates the book. There is also a definite claim to veracity in xix. 35. But who is the writer making this claim? It seems clear that he is the same as the beloved disciple; the anonymous reference to that disciple can only be satisfactorily explained on the hypothesis that he is the author. Certainly the claim is for one of the inner circle of Christ's disciples. Peter is named repeatedly as a different person. James, the brother of John, is not named; but he died too early. The almost certain inference is that the allusion is intended to point to John.[1]

We may take it then, that, though not in so many words, yet really and distinctly, the gospel claims to come from the apostle John, and the ancient attestation appended to it is intended to support and confirm his authority.

Further, when we come to details, we see a convergence of signs that point in the same direction. It is common to indicate this in four narrowing circles:—(1) The author was a Jew. He quotes the O.T. as frequently as Matthew, generally from the LXX., but on two or three occasions translating directly from the Hebrew where the LXX. had diverged.[2] His construction is Hebraistic, with simple sentences linked together by the word "and." He frequently gives us the Hebrew ἀμήν, and he employs such Hebraisms as "son of perdition," "rejoice with joy," etc. Then he shows familiarity with the feasts and with Jewish manners generally.

[1] The suggestions of Andrew and Nicodemus for "the beloved disciple" are quite unsupported by evidence.

[2] *e.g.*, John xiii. 18, follows the Heb. "has lifted up his heel," though the LXX. reads "multiplied tripping with the heel."

Thus he is acquainted with details of the Tabernacles (*e.g.*, vii. 37); the water pots for cleansing (ii. 6); the question of purifying (iii. 25); the Jews' purification of themselves before the Passover (xi. 55); their fear of defilement on entering the Prætorium (xviii. 28). The same familiarity with Jewish customs is seen in the relation of the Jews to the Samaritans (iv. 9), the idea of the soul's pre-existence and sin (ix. 2), the objection to let the bodies remain on the crosses on the Sabbath (xix. 31).

The mention of the Jews as foreigners (ii. 6, 13; v. 1; vi. 4) is no objection if John is writing for Gentiles.

(2) The author was a Palestinian. He shows his knowledge of quite out-of-the-way places such as Cana of Galilee, Bethany beyond Jordan, Sychar,[1] the exact situation of Jacob's well, with the Samaritan holy mountain, Gerizim, close at hand, and the cornfield in full view. He knows many details about Jerusalem—indeed his knowledge of that city and its neighbourhood is quite exceptional.

Thus he knows the intermittent springs (v. 2), the pool of Siloam (ix. 7), Solomon's porch (x. 23), the number of stadia between Jerusalem and Bethany (xi. 18), the Valley of the Kidron and the Garden of Gethsemane (xviii. 1), Gabbatha (xix. 13), Golgotha (xix. 17).[2]

(3) The author was contemporary with the events described. His treatment of the Messianic ideas of the time suggests this. He shows how the expectation of the Messiah was shared by the Samaritans, and he distinguishes "the prophet" (i. 21, 25; vi. 14; vii. 40) from the Christ, although Christian teachers soon became accustomed to recognise both in our Lord. And then on the negative side the evidence is also for his being of this early period. He makes no reference to the great gnostic heresies of the second century. Many of his phrases were used by the teachers of those systems, and he would have guarded against such use of them had he known of the possibility of it.

(4) The author writes as an eye-witness. Four times the claim is made by him, or for him, viz., in i. 14; xix. 35; xxi. 24; and 1 John i. 1, for the epistle was certainly written

[1] Identified with *Asgar* by the "Palestine Exploration Fund."

[2] Professor Sanday has shown the absurdity of the theory that St. John might have "got up" his knowledge of the locality from "geography books," by exhibiting the meagreness of such books even for important parts of the empire (*Expositor*, March, 1892).

by the author of the gospel. The vivid details of the gospel suggest the eye-witness.

> In particular consider the narrative of the loaves and fishes, with St. Philip's place in it, etc. (vi. 5, 9, 15, 23), and the many notes of time (*e.g.*, i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1; iv. 43, 52; vi. 22; xi. 6, 7; xii. 1, 12; xiii. 1; xx. 1), even hours of the day (iv. 6; xiii. 30; xviii. 28). Moreover the author knows and understands the feelings of the disciples.

When we put all this together we cannot fail to see that the gospel is amply attested as a genuine work justly ascribed to the apostle John. It would seem that such evidence could scarcely be disturbed by the most serious objections.

c. *Objections.*—The gospel was received in the early Church with practical unanimity. The only exceptions are with some people whom Irenæus mentions without naming them,[1] and an obscure party in the second century whom Epiphanius, writing in the fourth century, describes under the nickname of the "Alogi," probably the same people Irenæus referred to. He tells us that they rejected both the gospel and the Apocalypse, attributing them to Cerinthus, the heretic. But their reasons were evidently doctrinal, such as objections to the "logos" doctrine.[2]

But during the present century a number of objections have been raised, and various hypotheses proposed. The principal difficulties may be briefly epitomised as follows:—

(1) Inconsistency with the character of St. John. In the synoptics he and his brother are "Boanerges" (Mark iii. 17), and they evince a passionate and somewhat narrow-minded disposition;[3] but in the fourth gospel "the beloved disciple" has quite another disposition. This is a very feeble objection. It allows no room for the softening and mellowing of character. Besides, it assumes that if Jesus especially loved any disciple, that disciple must have been of a gentle disposition.

(2) Inconsistency with the Apocalypse. This is more serious. As early as the third century Dionysius of

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 11.

[2] EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.*, l. 1. To these may be added an obscure "Gaius."

[3] See, for instance, Mark ix. 38 ff.; Luke ix. 54, 55.

Alexandria pointed out the great difference between the style of the two works, and deduced the conclusion that the Apocalypse must have been written by some other John.[1] The grammatical forms of the gospel are in good Greek; but those of the Apocalypse are most erratic, so much so, that "the grammar of the Apocalypse" has a chapter assigned to it in books of N.T. grammar. And while the gospel is liberal in tone, the Apocalypse has statements more in accordance with Judaistic Christianity. So strong are these divergences, that it is generally admitted that St. John could not have written the Apocalypse after writing the gospel. It is possible to think of the Apocalypse as composed before his residence in Ephesus and the gospel many years later, when his associations with Greek civilisation as well as the growth of his own Christian experience may have much changed his thought and language.[2] But if the same man did not write both books, it is a question whether we should not follow Dionysius and assign the Apocalypse to some other writer.[3]

(3) Inconsistency with the synoptics. This is pointed out in a number of instances. Thus the synoptic accounts represent the scene of Christ's ministry as wholly in Galilee, till at the very last He goes up to Jerusalem to die; but John contains descriptions of several visits to Jerusalem and public teaching in that city. No doubt it is the fact that the three earlier gospels give us the ministry in the north, perhaps resting on a Galilean tradition; yet incidentally they admit that Jesus had been to Jerusalem by recording His lament over Jerusalem, where He says, "How often would I have gathered your children, etc.; but ye would not." (Matthew xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34, 35.) The best MSS.

The parables of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30–37), and the Pharisee and the publican (Luke xviii. 9–14), indicate Jerusalem associations.

[1] See EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vii. 25.

[2] That depends on the date of the Apocalypse, which will be considered further on.

[3] For a full discussion of this point see REYNOLDS, *Pul. Com.*, *John.*

The message to the owner of the ass's colt at Bethphage, by the Mount of Olives, implies that this man was a friend of Jesus. (Mark xi. 3.)[1]

of Luke iv. 44 read: "He was preaching in the synagogues of Judæa."

Then it is said that the synoptics allow but little more than one year for our Lord's ministry; but John gives three years. Now the article on "Chronology" in the new *Dictionary of the Bible* shows that though Luke seems to think of but one year, Mark requires two, and John gives no more than two. So this difficulty vanishes. Next it is pointed out that while the synoptics show Jesus taking the last Passover at the usual Jewish date of that feast, John seems to treat the Passover as not due till the evening of the day on which Jesus was crucified.[2]

Further, we miss all signs of progressive development in the teaching; *e.g.* in the synoptics Jesus veils His messiahship at first; it is only confessed by St. Peter at Cæsarea after the public work in Galilee is over, and even then Christ will not have it proclaimed. (Mark viii. 27–30.) But in John it is admitted from the first, even virtually proclaimed by the Baptist.[3] But the gravest difficulty remains to be considered. Our Lord's method of teaching is completely changed in the fourth gospel. Instead of picturesque parables and pithy proverbs, we have long discourses and arguments.

[1] But when Dr. Sanday points to the Mary and Martha incident in Luke x. 38–42 as evidence of a synoptic reference to Judæa, is he not begging the question? The narrative in Luke by itself would rather point to Galilee—except that it follows the parable of the good Samaritan. The Bethany residence of the sisters depends on the identification of the anointing in Mark xiv. 5–9 with Mary the sister of Lazarus in John xii. 8. See SANDAY, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 147.

[2] For the synoptic date see Mark xiv. 12; Matthew xxvi. 17; and especially Luke xxii. 7; and for John's date, John xiii. 1, 29; xviii. 28; xix. 14, 31, 42. Three methods of reconciliation have been proposed: (1) That Christ anticipated the feast. The synoptic references exclude this. (2) That John refers to the whole week of the festival, most of which was still future, under the names "Passover" and "Feast," the "Preparation" being taken as the Jewish name for Friday. (3) That the eating of the lambs was not got through on the Passover night, so many had to be prepared.

[3] John i. 29, 41, 49; iv. 26, etc.

Then, while in the synoptics Christ is practical and occupied with others, in John He is theological, transcendental, and occupied with His own person and relation to God. It is something, however, to have it proved that the essential truths taught by Christ are the same in all four gospels.[1]

d. *Probable Solution.*—The weighty evidence for the antiquity and Johannine authorship still stands, and that too cannot be lightly set aside, although sometimes it is ignored when the difficulties are under discussion. While accepting the tradition on this evidence, and assigning the gospel to St. John, we may still allow considerable scope to two considerations: (1) It must be conceded that St. John reproduced his memories after long meditation and frequent use of them in teaching as they shaped themselves in the forms of his own thought. This is apparent from the fact that the language and style are exactly the same in sayings of Christ, in sayings of John the Baptist, in comments of the evangelist, and in the first epistle of John.[2] We must attribute this unique and easily recognisable Johannine style to St. John himself throughout. That need not trouble us if we remember that "the letter killeth," while it is "the Spirit" that "giveth life." (2) Possibly we should go further, and allow that St. John may have written the work through one of his disciples, who would be responsible for the signs of Greek culture it contains, while the substance of the incidents and teaching was contributed by the apostle himself.

Pfleiderer holds that the book does not belong to historical works at all, but must be classed with Hellenistic doctrinal productions, as "the richest fruit of the development of the Hellenistic doctrine found in the Hebrew."[3]

[1] Demonstrated both by Wendt and Beyschlag.

[2] *e.g.*, for similarities between John the Baptist and the evangelist see i. 15–18 and iii. 27–36; and for similarities between Christ and the evangelist see iii. 11–21. In the one case John's words, in the other Christ's words, blend imperceptibly with the evangelist's.

[3] *Urchristenthum*, pp. 695–786.

On the other hand, Weizsäcker allows the gospel to contain genuine historical reports of the sayings and deeds of Christ; and although he does not admit that it comes directly from John, he attributes it to a Johannine School at Ephesus.[1]

Holtzmann denies the apostolic authorship,[2] ascribing it to a Christian Jew of the dispersion; and so does Jülicher, who regards the gospel as "a philosophic fiction" with a religious tendency, of the third generation.[3] A similar position is taken by Abbé Loisy.[4] Schmiedel rejects it as entirely unhistorical.[5]

Harnack formerly took a middle course. He regarded John the elder as the author, but allowed that this man obtained his information from the apostles.[6] But in his later work, *What is Christianity?* this position appears to be abandoned. Mc-Giffert ascribes the gospel to John the elder;[7] and Dr. Sanday allows the possibility that John the elder was the beloved disciple and author of the gospel, who had taken the place of John the son of Zebedee, as James the brother of the Lord had taken the place of the other son of Zebedee. This view would fall in with a statement attributed to Papias, in a fragment published by De Boor,[8] that both the sons of Zebedee were "slain by the Jews." But if that is correct, how comes it that neither Eusebius nor any other ancient writer refers to it? It is without confirmation till the ninth century—in Georgius Hamartalus. Still, while the total silence of the intermediate ages is a great difficulty, on the other hand many of the objections to the gospel as ascribed to the son of Zebedee would be lessened, and its authority as the work of an intimate disciple vindicated, if we could accept this view, towards which there is a distinct movement in the present day.[9]

Wendt finds refuge in a divided authorship, holding that an original document by the apostle John has been adopted, worked over, and added to by a later writer. His ingenious theory has not obtained much support; the unity of style throughout is too marked.

There is a growing tendency to agree with Harnack in attributing the gospel to John the elder. This may be done while admitting that it was written by an eye-witness, John the elder being the beloved disciple. It is remarkable that the beloved disciple does not appear till towards the end of the book, and then as a friend of the High Priest. The statement attributed to Papias by George "the Sinner" that John as well as his brother James was killed by the Jews seems to indicate that the apostle was martyred, and probably at Jerusalem. A later generation may have confused the name of John the elder with John the apostle. This is im-

[1] *Apostolic Age*, English trans., vol. ii., pp. 206–226.
[2] *Einleitung*, pp. 453–465.
[3] *Einleitung*, p. 258.
[4] *Le Quatrième Évangile*, pp. 1–143.
[5] *Encyc. Bib.*, "John, son of Zebedee."
[6] *Chronologie*, pp. 651–680.
[7] *Apostolic Age*, pp. 606–621.
[8] *Texte v. Untersuch*, v. 2, p. 170.
[9] See SANDAY, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 252.

material, if it is allowed that the beloved disciple—an eye-witness—composed the book. The Johannine authorship of the gospel has obtained substantial support from Lightfoot, Reynolds, etc., and it is more recently defended by Zahn,[1] Drummond, and Sanday.

2. Time and Place of Writing.

Even extreme criticism has continually receded in its assertions concerning the date of the gospel.

The Tübingen date (A.D. 160–170) of Baur and Schwegler is now no longer maintained by any. Zeller retreated to 150, Pfleiderer to 140, Hilgenfeld to 130–140. Jülicher dates it soon after 100, Harnack 80–110. An exact date cannot be fixed.

3. Contents.

a. *Introduction*, i. 1–18.

The Word with God; manifested (1) in creation, (2) in prophecy, (3) in the light within, (4) in the Incarnation.

b. *Before the First Passover; the Baptist and Christ's early Galilean Ministry*, i. 19–ii. 12.

i. 19–34, John's testimony to Christ.

35–51, John's disciples passing over to Jesus.

ii. 1–12, The marriage at Cana; Jesus at Capernaum.

c. *The Year from the First to the Second Passovers; Christ's Work in Jerusalem, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee*, ii. 13–v. 47.

ii. 13–25, Jesus at the Passover; purging the temple.

iii. 1–21, Nicodemus and the new birth.

22–36, Jesus in Judæa; John at Ænon; his testimony to the superiority of Jesus.

iv. 1–26, The woman of Samaria and living water.

27–42, Our Lord's ministry in Samaria.

43–54, Jesus a second time at Cana; cure of the Capernaum nobleman's son.

v. 1–9, Jesus at a feast in Jerusalem; cure of the infirm man.

[1] *Einleitung*, vol. ii., pp. 445 ff.

10–18, The Jews complain of Sabbath-breaking.

19–47, Christ's reply; His claim to give life from the dead; testimony of the Scriptures to Christ, who is sent by the Father.

d. *The Year from the Second Passover to the Third; Jesus in Galilee, then in Jerusalem and the South Country*, vi. 1–xi. 57.

vi. 1–15, Christ feeding the multitude; attempt to make Him a king.

16–21, Walking on the sea.

22–59, Christ the bread of life; eating His flesh and drinking His blood.

60–71, Many disciples leaving at the hard saying.

vii. 1–13, Search for Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles.

14–24, Jesus at the feast; charged with demoniacal possession.

25–36, Attempt to seize Him and kill Him.

37–44, Invitation to all who thirst.

45–52, The officers, overawed, refuse to arrest Christ; Nicodemus claims justice for Him.

[vii. 53–viii. 11, The woman taken in adultery.]

This passage is not found in the best MSS., and it is rejected by biblical critics as not part of the gospel. Still it is very ancient,[1] and very Christ-like. Probably it embodies a genuine tradition, and perhaps it is taken from some lost gospel. Blass ascribes it to a second edition of Luke, prepared by that evangelist.[2]

viii. 12–30, Contest concerning the claims of Christ.

31–59, The Jews no longer Abraham's children; Christ's claim to pre-existence rejected.

ix. 1–12, Cure of the blind man at the Pool of Siloam.

13–41, Discussion with the Pharisees about this cure having been on the Sabbath day.

x. 1–21, The good shepherd.

[1] In the western text, D, etc.

[2] See BLASS, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 163.

22–39, At the Feast of the Dedication; the Jews attempt to stone Jesus.

40–42, Jesus beyond the Jordan.

xi. 1–46, The raising of Lazarus.

47–53, On the advice of Caiaphas, the Council propose to put Jesus to death.

54–57, Jesus in retirement at Ephraim.

e. *The Last Days at Jerusalem*, xii.–xiii.

xii. 1–8, Mary anointing the feet of Jesus.

9–11, The notoriety of Lazarus.

12–19, The triumphant entry.

20–36a, Greeks desiring to see Jesus; His premonition of death; the voice from heaven.

36b–50, Jesus in retirement; on believing or rejecting Christ.

xiii. 1–20, At the Passover; Jesus washing His disciples' feet; the lesson about humility.

21–30, The traitor pointed out.

31–38, Christ to be glorified in death; Peter warned.

f. *The Last Discourse and Prayer*, xiv.–xvii.

xiv., Seeing the Father; the promise of the Comforter; Christ's peace.

xv., The true vine; the new commandment.

xvi., The Spirit of truth; the little while; concluding assurances.

xvii., Christ's prayer of intercession.

g. *The Arrest, Trials, Crucifixion, and Resurrection*, xviii.–xxi.

xviii. 1–11, The betrayal and arrest in the garden.

12–27, Trial before Annas and Caiaphas; Peter's denial.

28–xix. 16, Trial before Pilate, and condemnation.

xix. 17–30, Crucifixion and death of Jesus.

31–37, The spear-thrust.

38–42, The burial.

xx. 1–18, Mary Magdalene at the tomb, and meeting Jesus.

19–23, Jesus appearing to His disciples.

24–31, Thomas' doubt; his faith on seeing Christ; other signs.

xxi. 1–14, Appearance by the sea of Galilee.

15–23, Christ's questions for Peter.

24, 25, Appended notes of verification.

4. **Characteristics.**

The fourth gospel opens with an introduction, simple in phrase but profound in meaning, which identifies the Word with Christ, and traces the manifestations of the Word down to the Incarnation.

"The Logos" (ὁ λόγος) was a title familiar to Alexandrian Jews from its prominence in the writings of Philo, who had derived it from the Stoics, and used it in the sense given to it by those earlier philosophers as the Divine *Reason*. So close was the communication between Alexandria and Ephesus, we cannot doubt that the appearance of the term in our gospel is derived from Philo. But this applies to the title itself, rather than to its meaning. St. John understands it as meaning Word, not Reason, and uses it in harmony with Palestinian Jewish thought, rather than in the Alexandrian way. Thus old rabbinical teachings about the *Memra*, "the Word of the Lord," which was almost taken to be a person and a mediator between God and the world in later Judaism, is echoed in John's doctrine of the Logos. But this, in turn, is based on the O.T. teaching about the Word of the Lord. But John gives it quite a new form in applying it to Christ. The chief differences between John and Philo may be stated as follows:—

(1)	Philo's Logos is Reason;	John's is Word.
(2)	,, ,, impersonal;	,, a Person.
(3)	,, ,, not incarnate;	,, incarnate.
(4)	,, ,, not the Messiah;	,, the Messiah.

St. John, or his editor, tells us distinctly that his object in writing is to induce faith in Christ (xx. 31). To that end no doubt he selects incidents and teachings that bring our Lord's Divine nature into view. He also sets forth those teachings of Christ which reveal the deeper experiences of the human soul in relation to Christ—the new birth, the

living water, the light, the heavenly bread, reaching a climax in the utterances about eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man. At the same time he shows how Christ's work was carried on in the midst of a conflict with error and direct opposition. We see throughout the darkness contending with the light, but not able to suppress it. It is characteristic of John that even the last conflict, in the passion and death of Christ, is described as a glorification. St. John gives no account of the infancy, the temptation, most of the Galilean ministry, the Lord's Supper, the agony in the garden; but it is probable that he knew one or more of the earlier gospels, and left those works to tell their own tale. It was early recognised as the "Spiritual Gospel." Yet it is singularly definite and vivid.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

1. Authorship.
2. Historicity.
3. Date.
4. Contents.
5. Aim and Characteristics.

1. Authorship.

This book was unanimously ascribed to St. Luke by the early Church, and accepted as the work of that writer in all subsequent ages until the rise of modern criticism.

a. *Internal Evidence.*—It is beyond question that the author of the third gospel was the author of Acts. Both begin with an introduction addressed to Theophilus, and Acts refers to the gospel as "the former treatise." A similar style is to be traced through the two works. If therefore we have seen reason to accept the Lucan authorship of the third gospel, that is a justification for attributing Acts also to Luke. Then Acts has characteristics of its own which well accord with this judgment. It is very Pauline in tone, and a considerable portion of it is devoted to an account of the apostle's journeys, so that we may be sure that it was written by one of his friends.

b. *Testimony of Ancient Writers.*—The book is acknowledged as Luke's in writings dating soon after the middle of the second century. Irenæus thus acknowledges it, and it is ascribed to Luke in the *Muratorian Fragment.*

For Irenæus's statements see *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 14, 1; 15, 1. Acts was known to the author of the letter of the Churches at Lyons and Vienne, who cites St. Stephen's dying words, though without naming his authority (Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 2). There is reason to think it was known to Justin Martyr, though he does not expressly cite it (*I. Apol.*, 49; *Tryph.*, 20, 68, 118). *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, though an apocryphal work, must be ascribed to the second century, and it makes use of Acts. It is needless to cite later testimony. Acts is in the Peshitto and the Old Latin versions.

c. *Authorship of the Sections in the First Person.*—Without any explanation or introduction the author passes into the use of the first person plural with the pronoun "we" in three sections of his book, viz., xvi. 10–18; xx. 5–xxi. 18; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16. The narration of these portions begins at Troas and goes on to Philippi. It returns on the occasion of St. Paul's second visit to Philippi, and accompanies him to Jerusalem. There it disappears, but it is resumed for the apostle's voyage from Jerusalem to Rome. Thus, it would seem, St. Paul met the author at Troas, took him to Philippi, and left him there; picked him up again on his return to Philippi, and had his company to Jerusalem, and again after the Cæsarean imprisonment for the journey to Rome. The most probable explanation is that St. Luke was the companion on these occasions, and Professor Ramsay suggests with some probability that he was a native of Philippi, and the "man of Macedonia" who appeared to St. Paul in his night visions at Troas, perhaps after conversation with the apostle the previous evening.[1] An alternative is that St. Luke here inserts sections of some writing by another person, and the names of Silas and Timothy have been proposed. Neither will fit the circumstances: (1) Silas was with the apostle at Philippi; but he disappears after this first visit to Europe, and we have no reason to suppose he was with St. Paul in his later journeys. (2) Timothy was with the apostle later; but then he is named in the "we" sections as a third person. Besides, it is quite contrary to St. Luke's literary method to introduce some other writer without a word of explanation. We know he had many sources for his gospel; probably it was the same with Acts. Yet he treats no other portions of his materials in this way. He was far too skilful an author to lapse into so crude and clumsy a method. There is no reason to deny these sections to Luke, who, we know, was with St. Paul at Rome. (Colossians iv. 14.) It is natural to suppose that he accompanied the apostle on his voyage

[1] *St. Paul*, pp. 200–205.

thither. Thus Paul indirectly confirms Luke's statements. Moreover the style of these fragments agrees with Luke's style elsewhere.

2. Historicity.

Difficulties as to the historicity of Acts have been suggested on a variety of grounds:

a. *Inconsistency with the Theory of a Doctrinal Schism in the Church.*—This was Baur's great objection. Starting with the theory of bitter antagonism between St. Paul and the Twelve Apostles, and maintaining that this antagonism corresponded to two totally different conceptions of Christian truth, this critic and his followers regarded Acts as a fancy picture in which the rigour of Paul's anti-Judaism and the strictness of the older apostles' Judaism are both softened down to agree with later Catholic unity. But it is now seen that the Tübingen school grossly exaggerated the difference between the two lines of Christian teaching. Galatians, in which Baur thought he found the strongest evidences of divergence, really testifies to the essential agreement between Peter and Paul, both in accepting liberal views with regard to the Gentiles[1] and in recognising one another's claims.[2]

b. *Contradictions to St. Paul's Statements of Fact.*—It must be allowed that the difficulties which present themselves in this relation are not a little puzzling. The chief points come out of a comparison with Galatians where St. Paul describes his visits to Jerusalem. It will be best to reserve them for consideration when we are studying that epistle.[3]

c. *Comparison with Josephus.*—This is made in two opposite ways. It is said that the author of Acts used Josephus, and therefore must be much later than St. Luke; it is also said that he is inconsistent with Josephus—and therefore is not worthy of credit. But surely these two objections cannot both be maintained at the same time. If our author

[1] See Gal. ii. 3, 12. [2] See Gal. i. 24, ii. 9. [3] See chapter vi.

used Josephus he would not be likely to contradict his authority; if he contradicted Josephus that would be a sign of independent authorship—unless we say he used the Jewish historian carelessly, which would be contrary to what the preface to the gospel justifies us in expecting.

(1) The first point is one of verbal resemblances, and can only be discussed at length with an elaborate comparison of Greek words. Writers of the same period, in the same country, with the same culture, dealing with historical events that sometimes coincide, might naturally hit upon the same terms. It is to be noted that the comparison is with words and phrases, not whole sentences.

(2) The second point comes up especially in the report of Gamaliel's speech, where we read of the insurrections, first of Theudas, and then of Judas of Galilee (Acts v. 36, 37). Now according to Josephus the insurrection of Theudas took place under Cuspus Fadus at least ten years later than the period of Gamaliel's speech, and long after that of Judas.[1] But since St. Luke wrote later than the time of Theudas he may have known of his name and misplaced it in Gamaliel's speech. We must remember that he was not a Palestinian. Still such a blunder would tend to discredit his accuracy as a historian. It is quite possible that there was some other insurgent named Theudas to whom the speech of Gamaliel refers, for we know there were many risings in these troublesome times.[2] At all events it will not do to say that the author of Acts drew his information from Josephus, and then disarranged it when quoting from memory, for he tells us that Theudas had a following of 400 men, a detail not in Josephus. It has been suggested that St. Luke wrote the book in his old age after having read Josephus. That is at least possible, if he was quite a young man when he attached himself to St. Paul.

d. *Differences between the Earlier and the Later Parts of Acts.*—The Pauline part is more easily accepted because of the closer connection of its author with the events he narrates; and recent archæological discoveries go far to vindicate St. Luke's accuracy as a historian in this section of his work.[3]

But such a vindication must also help to establish all he writes. Moreover, the earlier portion contains evidences of its own genuineness in the picture of the Church at Jerusalem that it contains. St. Peter's speeches have a very primitive

[1] *Ant.* xx. v. 1. Yet it is curious that Josephus mentions this earlier insurrection after that of Theudas, though at the same time recognising its prior occurrence—a fact that has encouraged the suggestion that the order in Acts results from a cursory glance at Josephus. This is too small a point to prove dependence on Josephus. See HEADLAM, new *Bible. Dic.*, "Acts."

[2] There were three pretenders named Judas, and four named Simon. See Lightfoot on Acts in SMITH'S *D.B.*[1].

[3] See RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, etc., *passim.*

christology, and their references to the death of Christ contain no hint of the sacrificial efficacy of that event which is so prominent in St. Paul.[1]

3. **Date.**

The concluding verses have given rise to the idea that Acts was written at or before the close of St. Paul's imprisonment there described. But it must come after the third gospel, and that we have seen was written after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). When we allow time for collecting materials after writing the gospel, we cannot well fix the date before A.D. 80. There is no necessity to fix it much later.

4. **Contents.**

a. *The Church at Jerusalem*, i. 1–viii. 1a.

i. 1–11, Introduction; the apostolic commission; the ascension.

12–26, Choice of a new apostle.

ii. 1–13, The gift of the Spirit with the tongues.

14–42, Peter's speech at Pentecost.

43–47, The brotherhood of the enlarged Church.

iii. 1–10, Cure of a lame man.

11–26, Peter's speech on this occasion.

iv. 1–22, Peter and John before the Council.

23–37, Dismissal and return to the Church; the generosity of the brotherhood.

v. 1–11, The lie of Ananias and Sapphira, and their death.

12–16, Miracles of healing.

17–32, Second imprisonment of Peter and John.

33–42, Gamaliel's advice.

vi. 1–7, The appointment of the seven.

8–15, Stephen's ministry and arrest.

vii. 1–53, Stephen's defence.

54–viii. 1a, Stephen's martyrdom.

b. *Spread of Christianity in Judæa and Samaria*, viii. 1b–xi. 18.

[1] Spitta endeavours to trace two documents underlying Acts, especially in the earlier part, one of which he attributes to Luke. But why not regard both as sources used by Luke? Probably he consulted many authorities.

viii. 1b–3, The Church scattered by persecution.

4–13, Philip in Samaria; Simon Magus.

14–25, Visit of Peter and John to Samaria.

26–40, Philip and the Ethiopian.

ix. 1–25, Conversion of Paul.

26–31, Paul at Jerusalem.

32–43, Peter at Joppa and Lydda; raising of Tabitha.

x., Peter and Cornelius; Peter's trance; his speech at Cæsarea.

xi. 1–18, Peter's explanation at Jerusalem.

c. *Spread of Christianity in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch,* xi. 19–xii. 25.

xi. 19–30, Those scattered by the persecution carrying the gospel abroad.

xii. Herod's persecution; murder of James; Peter's third imprisonment and escape; death of Herod.

d. *Paul's First Missionary Journey; associated with Barnabas,* xiii. 1–xv. 35.

xiii. 1–3, The missionary dedication of Barnabas and Paul by the Church at Antioch.

4–12, Journey through Cyprus.

13–52, At Antioch in Pisidia; Paul's speech in the synagogue; turning to the Gentiles.

xiv. 1–7, Preaching at Iconium, and driven out of the town.

8–28, Cure of a lame man at Lystra; Paul stoned.

xv. 1–35, The Jerusalem Church Council on the question of the circumcision of the Gentiles.

e. *Paul's Second Missionary Journey; accompanied by Silas,* xv. 36–xviii. 22.

xv. 36–xvi. 5, Visit to the churches founded during the first journey.

xvi. 6–40, Paul crosses to Europe; imprisonment at Philippi; conversion of the jailor.

xvii. 1–15, At Thessalonica and Berœa.

16–34, At Athens; speech at the Areopagus.

xviii. 1–17, At Corinth; brought before Gallio.

18–22, Paul travels by Ephesus and Cæsarea to Antioch.

f. *Paul's Third Missionary Journey*, xviii. 23–xxi. 16.

23–28, Paul revisiting Galatia and Phrygia; Apollos at Corinth.

xix., Paul at Ephesus; the riot.

xx. 1–6, Journey to Macedonia and Greece.

7–12, Paul at Troas; Eutychus' fall, and restoration.

13–38, Journey to Miletus; Paul meets the elders of Ephesus there.

xxi. 1–16, Voyage to Tyre and Cæsarea.

g. *Paul's Arrest at Jerusalem, Imprisonment at Cæsarea, and Voyage to Rome*, xxi. 17 *to the end.*

xxi. 17–26, Paul with the Jerusalem Church.

27–40, The Jews try to kill Paul; He is rescued and conveyed to the castle.

xxii. 1–21, Speech before the Jews at Jerusalem.

22–30, Paul with the chief captain.

xxiii. 1–10, Paul before the council.

11–35, Taken to Cæsarea.

xxiv., Paul before Felix.

xxv., xxvi., Paul before Festus; appeal to Cæsar; speech before Agrippa.

xxvii., Voyage and shipwreck.

xxviii. 1–10, Paul at Melita.

11–16, Journey to Rome.

17–31, Paul expounds his gospel at Rome.

5. Aim and Characteristics.

In his preface St. Luke states his aim, or rather illustrates it from the commission to the apostles, viz., to show the ever-widening circles of the spread of Christianity (i. 8). It will be observed that he carries this intention into effect; the plan of the book shows us first the Jerusalem Church, then the Judæan evangelisation, next that of Samaria, after this the great advance into the Gentile world, beginning with Antioch, the centre of Gentile missionary work, and going on with the journeys of St. Paul, the great evangelist

of the Gentiles, until he is seen planting the gospel in Rome, the head city of the world. But while this is the first object aimed at, it would seem that the author's ultimate design is to commend the gospel to his readers by exhibiting its gracious aspects and its great fruitfulness. He seems especially to have the Roman world in view. Roman officials invariably appear in a favourable light, military officers especially so; and this is in marked contrast with the fierce antagonism of the Jews and their leaders, from whom in every case the persecution of the Christians arises —excepting in one or two instances of riots among pagan mobs, on the incitement of men actuated by trade interests. This conciliatory treatment of the Roman world constitutes the book in a sense an *Apologia*. But there is no reason to question the truthful character of the narrative on that account. It was calumny and misunderstanding that first prejudiced the pagan world against the Church. A "plain, unvarnished tale" was the best way to prevent the growth of senseless prejudices.

CHAPTER V.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES: FIRST GROUP

1. The Thirteen Epistles.
2. The Thessalonian Christians.
3. 1 Thessalonians.
4. 2 Thessalonians.

1. The Thirteen Epistles.

Thirteen epistles are commonly ascribed to St. Paul. A fourteenth—the epistle to the Hebrews, which bears the apostle's name in its title in our English Bibles—is now almost universally considered to be the work of some other author.[1] These books naturally fall into four groups, determined both by their characters and contents, and by the periods when they were written. The works of St. Paul—at all events those that have been preserved to our own day—are not distributed evenly over the apostle's career. Supposing his conversion to have occurred about A.D. 35, we have eighteen years before the first epistle was written. Then come four literary periods :—

First. A.D. 53, 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

Second. A.D. 57, 58, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans.

Third. A.D. 62, 63, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, Philippians.

Fourth. A.D. 65, Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy, *i.e.*, if we admit the genuineness of the pastoral epistles, or of portions of them.

[1] The full titles of the N.T. books in our English Bibles are quite late in their origin. They are not found in the oldest MSS., which give much shorter titles, and therefore they cannot claim any authority. In the text itself the epistle to the Hebrews does not claim to be written by St. Paul. Since no author's name appears in it, the question as to who wrote it, which will be considered later on, does not affect its genuineness.

These dates are most of them only approximate. But when once the general scheme of chronology which they follow is accepted, they fall into their places with sufficient accuracy to exclude more than about a year's variation either forward or backward. Specific questions concerning the dates of the several books will be considered as they arise. In other schemes of chronology these epistles still preserve their relative positions but little altered. They are arranged by Harnack[1] as follows:—

48/9 (47/8), 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
53 (52), 1 Corinthians, Galatians.
53 (52), Early autumn, 2 Corinthians.
53/54, Romans.
57–59 (56–58), Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (if genuine), Philippians.
59–64, Genuine Pauline elements of the pastoral epistles.

Certain common characteristics may be traced with more or less distinctness through all the Pauline epistles. They are real letters, impressed with the personality of the writer, taking cognizance of the circumstances of the people to whom they are directed; in form opening with the style of address current at the time, though enriched with deeper meaning, and closing as a rule with personal salutations; in spirit breathing a warmly affectionate feeling for the readers, and a deep, passionate concern for the issues at stake. At the same time they all deal with matters of religion, varying in relative proportion, but still, in nearly every case discussing doctrinal points, describing processes of spiritual experience, and giving direct advice on practical questions. It may be said that St. Paul created this style of literature—since been imitated by Cyprian, Fénélon, and others—in which the most serious religious truths and the most momentous actions of life are discussed in letters.[2]

St. Paul was in the habit of dictating his letters to an amanuensis, possibly owing to weakness of eyesight, or perhaps because the rough work of his handicraft rendered his fingers unapt at holding the pen. In Romans xvi. 22 the

[1] *Chronologie*, pp. 233–239.

[2] The great originality of this kind of literature has been put forward as an argument against the early date of the Epistle of St. James, because if that is earlier than the first of St. Paul's epistles, St. James must be credited with the invention. But that epistle must be considered before we yield the point.

amanuensis, who gives his name as Tertius, appends his own greeting. The apostle emphasises the fact that he writes the short personal letter to Philemon with his own hand (Philemon 19), and in appending a postscript to the epistle to the Galatians (vi. 11–18) he calls attention to the large size of his letters in comparison with his secretary's neat handwriting. From 2 Thessalonians iii. 17 we learn that it was the apostle's custom to authenticate his letters by adding a few words himself. In this case it is a salutation followed by the final benediction (verses 17, 18). So the apostle points out that he writes 1 Corinthians xvi. 21–24, and Colossians iv. 18, in his own hand. Possibly—as Weiss suggests—the doxology in Romans (xvi. 25–27), the final benediction in Ephesians (vi. 23, 24), the greetings in Philippians (iv. 21–23), and perhaps 2 Corinthians xiii. 12–14, and 1 Timothy vi. 20, 21, were written by St. Paul himself. It was often the practice of the apostle to associate his travelling companions and fellow missionaries with himself in his writing (*e.g.*, 1 Thessalonians i. 1; 2 Thessalonians i. 1, etc.). But he soon relapsed into the first person singular, and he always wrote on his own individual apostolic authority.

Besides these thirteen epistles there is reason to believe that St. Paul wrote others that have been lost. Two in particular are directly alluded to—one epistle to the Corinthians earlier than our 1 Corinthians (mentioned in 1 Corinthians v. 9), and one to the Laodiceans (mentioned in Colossians iv. 16). Probably the extant epistles contain fragments of lost epistles. In particular Romans xvi. appears to be part of an epistle to Ephesus,[1] and there is reason to believe that 2 Corinthians consists of two epistles—in whole or part—run together.[2] On the other hand it can scarcely be supposed that any large, important epistle has been lost. In all probability such a work would have left traces in early Church history. The most ancient writers who quote from St. Paul with acknowledgement only cite what is in our N.T.

Of our thirteen epistles nine are addressed to churches, four

[1] See pages 379, 380. [2] See page 368.

to individual men. Of the nine to churches some are sent to single communities, *e.g.*, Romans; others are for a group of churches, *e.g.*, Galatians, probably Ephesians, and also in a measure 2 Corinthians, which, though primarily to Corinth, is also directed to "all the saints that are in the whole of Achaia" (2 Corinthians i. 1). Letters to churches were to be read to all the members. This is apparent throughout. It is expressly stipulated with regard to the first written letter (1 Thessalonians v. 27). Of the four epistles to individual men three are of a pastoral character, and therefore essentially of public interest to the churches (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus). One is a wholly private and personal letter (Philemon).

2. The Thessalonian Christians.

The two epistles to the Thessalonians are evidently addressed to the same community, consisting of the converts whom St. Paul had won on the occasion of his first visit to Europe, when, crossing over the sea from Troas and landing at Neapolis, he had first visited Philippi, and then directed his course southwards to Thessalonica. This city—the modern Salonica—situated at the north-east corner of the Thermaic Gulf, was the capital of one of the Roman divisions of Macedonia, a large place containing a considerable industrial population, and some thousands of Jews who had an important synagogue there. According to his custom, the apostle first preached to the Jews; after his third Sabbath visit to the synagogue, being rejected by his own people, he turned to the Gentiles.

It has been objected that such a church as the epistles concern could not have been formed in so short a time. But this is to overlook the fact that the apostle may have stayed some weeks or even months longer preaching among the Gentiles. Acts xvi. 4 seems to imply as much. From this verse we gather that there were a few Jew converts, but that the majority were Greeks, *i.e.*, Greek-speaking Gentiles. By race these people were of the solid, reliable Thracian race[1]—they had been worshippers of idols (1 Thessalonians i. 9). It is interesting to find that the apostle found his most loyal converts among these worthy people. In particular there were men already "God-fearing" (σεβομένων, Acts xvii. 4),

[1] See RENAN, *St. Paul*, chapter vi.

i.e., in a measure proselytes, brought to reverence the God of the Jews, and also a number of women of the wealthier classes, who afterwards contributed to the maintenance of the apostle.[1]

A riot stirred up by the Jews compelled the apostle to leave the city suddenly, perhaps bound over by the authorities to absent himself.

3. 1 Thessalonians.

a. *Genuineness.*—This epistle is growing in favour and general acceptance. Baur rejected it, but his successor, Hilgenfeld, accepts it. Its genuineness has also been allowed by critics of such diverse schools as Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, Davidson, Harnack, Jülicher, Zahn, Bacon. The external testimony is as good as could be expected for so short a work. It is in Marcion's canon of St. Paul's epistles (*c.* A.D. 140), and is quoted by Fathers of the second century, and it is in the earliest versions of the N.T., also dating from the second century.

No certain allusion to this epistle can be found in the apostolic fathers; but that is the case with most of the epistles. They were not collected into a volume, or widely known at the early date of these witnesses. Neither does their high authority seem to have been then recognised. Still Ignatius may have known our epistle. His *Ephesians* x. 1 suggests 1 Thessalonians v. 17; compare also his *Epistle to Polycarp* i. 3. Perhaps his *Philippians* ii. 1 alludes to 1 Thessalonians v. 5.[2] The *Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Levi. 6, seems to allude to 1 Thessalonians vi. 16.

Irenæus is the first to quote the epistle by name (*Con. Haer.*, v. 6. 1 = 1 Thessalonians v. 23). See also v. 30. 2. At the end of the first century, Clement of Alexandria makes use of it (*Paed.*, v. 19; *Strom.*, i. 9. 53). So does Tertullian (*De. Res. Carn.*, *c.* 24). The epistle is recognised in the *Muratorian Fragment*, and it is found in the Old Latin and Syriac versions.

The internal evidence in favour of it is strong. It bears the stamp of the apostle's earnest, affectionate character, and it fits well into the circumstances under which it was written. In particular, the reference to some Christians at Thessalonica who had died points to a very ancient date. The brethren were

[1] See RAMSAY, *St. Paul the Traveller, etc.*, p. 227.

[2] In regard to this last comparison it has been objected that the word "unceasing" is not represented in the Syriac version of Ignatius. That is no valid objection, as it is now known that in the Syriac form the Ignatian letters are quite mutilated and abbreviated.

disappointed and disconcerted by the occurrence, apparently having supposed that Christ's near advent was not to be preceded by the death of any of His people. This is a delusion that could only have been entertained in a very early stage of a church's existence. The need the apostle found for dispelling it and comforting those who were troubled by it stamps the epistle as most primitive.

(1) It was objected by Baur that the epistle lacked Pauline doctrinal statements. But this fact only points to its antiquity, before the rise of the great contest with Judaisers, or it may be accounted for by the fact that this contest was not known at Thessalonica. And the very simplicity of the epistle makes for its genuineness. There was no motive for forging it. (2) ii. 16 has been referred to the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). It is too general to be forced to such an application. (3) Apparent inconsistencies with Acts have been pointed out. But similar and even greater difficulties are felt with Galatians, which is accepted, and it is therefore not necessary to discuss them here.[1] (4) A more serious difficulty may be felt in the time which seems to have been required for the growth and development of the Church. But in epochs of religious revival life moves fast, and events follow one another rapidly. The reference to deaths will not allow of much time. Some must have occurred in the course of nature before long.

b. *Place, Date, and Circumstances of Origin.*—By comparing Acts xvii. and xviii. with our epistle we can settle these points with tolerable accuracy. St. Paul had left Timothy and Silas in Macedonia (Acts xvii. 14) when he went on with other friends to Athens, whence he sent back a request that they should follow him (verse 15). They did not reach him until he had passed on to Corinth. (Acts xviii. 1 and 5.) They are with him when he writes the epistle (1 Thessalonians i. 1), Timothy having just arrived (iii. 6).

It would seem, however, from this epistle that Acts is not perfectly accurate on one point. St. Paul here says that he thought it well to be left at Athens alone, and that he sent Timothy to Thessalonica (1 Thessalonians iii. 1, 2), who had since returned (verse 6). This, however, is a minor point. Possibly Timothy had met the apostle earlier than St. Luke supposed, and had been sent back, or possibly he had been of those who accompanied St. Paul to Athens, though St. Luke, knowing he was at Thessalonica a little later, had concluded that he had remained in Macedonia.

[1] For a discussion of these points the reader is referred to JOWETT, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, etc. Third edition, pp. 4–17.

Thus we find the epistle was written from Corinth on the occasion of the apostle's first visit to the city (probably in A.D. 53). The reason for writing it is found in the coming of Timothy with news from Thessalonica. The apostle wished to encourage his friends whom he had left so abruptly, to help them with practical advice as to their conduct in daily life, and especially to relieve them from the perplexity occasioned by the death of some of their brotherhood.

c. *Contents.*—The epistle opens with a salutation, including Silvanus and Timothy with himself in the message of greeting (i. 1).

i. 2–10, Thanksgiving and congratulation. The gospel has borne good fruit in Thessalonica, the fame of which extends through Macedonia and Achaia, and beyond.

ii. 1–12, Reminiscences of the apostle's ministry at Thessalonica, its boldness (verse 2), its purity (verse 3), its honesty (verses 4–6), its gentleness (verses 7, 8), its gratuitousness — the missionaries supporting themselves by manual labour (verse 9), their blameless example (verse 10), and their affectionate, fatherly treatment of their converts (verses 11, 12).

ii. 13–16, Thanksgiving again for the way the Thessalonians received the gospel as the word of God, and congratulations on their endurance of persecution from the Jews.

ii. 17–20, The apostle's eager desire to see his friends. But he is hindered by Satan.

"Satan hindered." This might refer to some illness (*e.g.*, 2 Corinthians xii. 7); but more likely St. Paul alludes to Satan as a ruling power of evil working through adverse circumstances, as in a magisterial order excluding the apostle from Macedonia.

iii. 1–10, As St. Paul could not go himself, he had sent Timothy who had returned with cheering news.

iii. 11–13, The apostle still prays that God will direct his way to the Thessalonians, that he may establish their hearts unblameable in holiness.

iv. 1–8, The apostle encourages obedience to the precepts preached, and adds an exhortation against uncleanness.

iv. 9–12, Exhortation to quiet work.

iv. 13–18, Explanation of the state of the blessed dead. The Thessalonians, surprised that some of their number had died before Christ came a second time, feared they would miss the joy of the Parousia. It will not be so. On the contrary the dead in Christ will rise and see Christ before the Christians who are on earth at the time will have that privilege. Then the living Christians will be caught up in the clouds, and join them.

At this time St. Paul expected to be of the living at the Parousia. Later he gave up the expectation, and anticipated death for himself. (2 Corinthians v. 1; Philippians i. 21.)

v. 1–3, The sudden coming of the Lord.

v. 4–11, Call for watchfulness and sobriety with the hope of the salvation through Christ who died for us.

v. 12–22, Various exhortations, first to treat the leaders of the Church well, and to live in peace together, and then concerning specific Christian duties.

Note in particular: (1) Verse 12, no titles are given. We have no mention of bishops, elders, or deacons by name in any of these early epistles. But the verse seems to point to Church officers. (2) Verses 19, 20 refer to the prophetic gifts. They are not to be checked or despised, but tested, and what is proved to be good, held to.

v. 23–28, Final commendations and exhortations.

The epistle is simple and practical in character. Nevertheless it indirectly indicates the following ideas: The Divinity of Christ (i. 1, 10; iii. 11, 12; v. 28); His death (ii. 15), as concerning us (*περὶ ἡμῶν*, v. 10); His resurrection as God's act (*ὃν ἤγειρεν*, i. 10), the second advent (frequently referred to); the Holy Spirit given by God (iv. 8), to work in Christians (i. 5; v. 19); Christian union with Christ (iv. 14, 16; v. 10); the resurrection of Christians (iv. 14); Satan as a hindering power (ii. 18); various duties of the Christian life, especially love, purity, and honest industry; some undefined Church government calling for respect towards its leaders (v. 12). No reference to Judaising Christians. The opponents are Jews.

4. 2 Thessalonians.

a. *Genuineness.*—This epistle is rejected by some who admit 1 Thessalonians, *e.g.*, by Hilgenfeld. It is well defended by Jowett (*Thessalonians, etc.*, 3rd edition, pp. 70–76). The external evidence is even stronger than that for 1 Thessalonians, the epistle being alluded to by Polycarp in the middle of the second century, and apparently by Justin Martyr. Irenæus is the first to name it.

Compare Polycarp, *Ad. Phil.*, ii. with 2 Thessalonians iii. 15; Justin Martyr, *Trypho.*, 110 with 2 Thessalonians ii. 3. For the first direct mention of the epistle see Irenæus, *Con. Haer.*, iii. 7, 2. It is also cited by Clement A. (*Strom.*, v. 3), Tertullian (*De. Res. Carn.*, 24; *Scorp.* 13). It is in Marcion's canon, the *Muratorian Fragment*, the Old Latin and the Syriac versions. It was never questioned in the early Church.

The internal evidence in favour of this epistle is similar to that for the first, in the suitability to the circumstances, the affectionate, earnest character of the writer, etc. Over and above objections that it shares with 1 Thessalonians, the following have been urged against the genuineness of 2 Thessalonians[1]:—

(1) Its eschatology appears to contradict 1 Thessalonians, where we read that the Son of man will come suddenly. (1 Thessalonians v. 2.) Here delay and intermediate occurrences are predicted. (2 Thessalonians ii. 1–3.) But is this a contradiction? Suddenness is not immediateness. The thief in the night startles the house with his unexpected presence; but his coming may still not be soon. If we knew it would be, we should not be startled. And would a literary imitator create this difficulty? Besides, St. Paul may have modified his ideas while brooding over this subject between the two epistles.

(2) The doctrine of antichrist is said to be un-Pauline, dependent on the Apocalypse, and perhaps here even savouring of Montanism (second century). That St. Paul does not discuss it in his later writings is quite true. His whole position in regard to the second advent underwent gradual transformation. But if Matthew xxiv. is history, the seed of

[1] PFLEIDERER, *Urchristenthum*, pp. 77, 78.

this doctrine was in the teaching of Christ Himself. Moreover, St. Paul, trained in Jewish literature, would not be ignorant of the Apocalyptic ideas of his own people. Jülicher holds that his writing on this subject is based on his earlier Jewish training, utilised in Christian thought.[1]

(3) The concluding authentication (iii. 17) is objected to as unlike St. Paul's manner, and a needless precaution if the apostle dictates the letter himself. It is not probable that false letters had been sent to Thessalonica thus early. But we need not take the passage to imply that this was the case. St. Paul was guarding against possible contingencies. Still, it must be admitted, the passage is peculiar, and not easily accounted for.

(4) There are variations from the apostle's style.[2] On the other hand the writer is said to imitate St. Paul. Spitta assigns the epistle to Timothy. But if that is a correct surmise is it not very remarkable that no tradition preserved the title of so well known a Christian leader? Still, as one of the associated senders of the epistle (i. 1), Timothy may have had some hand in it, possibly as the amanuensis allowing himself some freedom in the shaping of phrases.

b. *Time and Circumstances of Origin.*—Baur followed Grotius in placing this epistle earlier than our 1 Thessalonians. The principal grounds for this view (which was adopted by Renan, Ewald, and others) is found in the references of 2 Thessalonians to the teaching of the apostle while he was yet with his converts. In any case, it could not have been written long after he had been present. ii. 2 seems to refer to the earlier epistle—though the expression "by epistle *as* (ὡς) from us" rather suggests one that pretended to come from the apostle, but was not really sent by him; and the allusion further on to "traditions which ye were taught, whether by word or by *epistle of ours*" (ii. 15), seems to point clearly to some previous epistle. But the chief reason for putting

[1] *Einleitung*, p. 43.

[2] For a full list of these variations, and a discussion of them, see JOWETT, *Thessalonians*, etc., p. 73.

this second is that it clears up a difficulty which the earlier epistle left behind, especially if ii. 2 refers to that epistle. The Thessalonians were so full of the immediate coming of Christ, that some of them ceased to work for their livelihood (iii. 10.) This error the apostle corrects, and he shows that the advent is not to be so near. The epistle cannot have been written long after its predecessor. Its references to the time when St. Paul was with his readers do not allow of that, and the same companions (Silvanus and Timothy) are associated with the apostle. (i. 1.) iii. 2 seems to point to the events described in Acts xviii. 12 ff. We should date it therefore from Corinth, and probably in A.D. 53, possibly in 54.

c. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Opening salutation.

3–12, Thanksgiving for spiritual growth, and congratulations on the patient endurance of persecution.

ii. 1–12, Apocalyptic passage. A warning against anticipating the immediate advent of Christ. The man of sin must first be revealed. At present he is restrained. But in time the restraining power will be removed.

13–17, Renewed thanksgiving and exhortation to steadfastness.

iii. 1–5, A request for the prayers of the Thessalonians, followed by an expression of assurance that they will be kept and directed by God.

6–15, Withdrawal from disorderly brethren required. The apostle had worked for his own living; his converts must all work for their living, and none of them burden their brethren.

16, 17, Concluding salutation in the apostle's own hand, following a benediction.

The Man of Sin, ii. 1–12.—In the main there are two distinct views of this mysterious passage. (1) That the man of sin is the Roman Emperor, Caligula, or more probably Nero, who is in hiding (see Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 8), restrained by the ruling Emperor Vespasian. According to this view, the epistle is a later work, and not genuine. "Setting himself forth as God" (verse 4) seems to point to the self-deification of the Roman emperor. (2) That the man of sin is a personification of the Jewish power. This fits in with the situation when St. Paul was at Corinth. The Jews resist the

progress of the gospel. The restraining power is that of the Roman Government, which had been exercised both at Thessalonica when the apostle was there, and more recently at Corinth under Gallio. (Acts xviii. 12–17.) The phrase, "he that sitteth in the temple of God" (2 Thessalonians ii. 4), suits the Jews better than a pagan emperor. It must be understood that the phrase "mystery of iniquity" (ii. 7) means not a mysterious, turbulent power, but one, the latent evil of which is now known. Hilgenfeld, placing the *ἀποστασία* in the time of Trajan, understands the "mystery of iniquity" to refer to gnosticism, and so ascribes the writing of the epistle to the second century. It is pure conjecture. There have been many wild guesses at the personality of the "man of sin"—that he is Simon Magus, Mohammed, Cromwell, Napoleon, the Pope, etc. These need not detain us.

This epistle teaches the Fatherhood of God, i. 1, 2, and concerning Christ that as a Divine Being He is associated with God in conferring grace. (i. 1, 2, 12; ii. 16, 17; iii. 1–5, 18.) A severe tone marks the references to the second advent. Christ is to come "rendering vengeance" (i. 8); "the Lord Jesus shall slay 'the lawless one' with the breath of His mouth." (ii. 8.) But deliverance and salvation are for His people, who, however, must be fitted for the kingdom of heaven. The epistle contains no direct reference to the death of Christ, His resurrection, or the atonement; but its practical purpose did not lead to those subjects. It exalts faith, love, patience, diligence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES: SECOND GROUP

1. The Church at Corinth.
2. The Question of a Lost Epistle.
3. 1 Corinthians.
4. 2 Corinthians.
5. Galatians.
6. Romans.
7. Characteristics of the Group.

An interval of nearly five years separates the second from the first group of St. Paul's epistles. The four masterly epistles which form this group were written within a twelvemonth, during parts of the years A.D. 57 and 58, the epoch of the apostle's greatest literary productiveness. The intervening time, while it had been occupied with assiduous missionary labours, had seen the rise of a determined opposition to St. Paul's claims and principles on the part of Judaising Christians who were sheltering themselves under the great name of St. James, and pushing his conservative views to extremes. The effects of this opposition on the apostle's mind are very marked. They compel him to justify his position, and thus lead him to formulate his ideas distinctly, so that indirectly they stimulate the development of his thought and teaching. Accordingly the epistles written under these circumstances become doctrinal and argumentative works, luminous in exposition and vigorous in controversy. But throughout this painful contest St. Paul is eager to heal the breach, not by conceding his opponents' position, but in a practical way, by proving to the moderate majority of the Jerusalem Church from which they come the essential brotherhood of all Christians. In pursuit of this aim he devotes much attention to the

collection of contributions from his Greek churches, which are to be sent as tokens of brotherly love to relieve the wants of the poor members of the mother Church.

1. **The Church at Corinth.**

The Corinth of St. Paul's time was not the famous city of Greek history, which Cicero had styled "the light of Greece," though it was situated on the same site, the isthmus between the Ionian and the Ægean seas. The older city had been destroyed by the Roman General Mummius (B.C. 146), and for a hundred years the site had lain waste. Then a new city was built by Julius Cæsar, who imported a number of Roman colonists and made it a Latin colony, called at first "Colonia Julia." The population consisted of descendants of these colonists mixed with Greeks who joined them. We may notice several Latin names among the Corinthian Christians. Corinth was made the capital of the Roman province of Achaia (which comprised Hellas and the Peloponnesus), and being well situated for commerce it grew rapidly in wealth and luxury. It was variously governed at different times. When St. Paul visited Corinth it was under a proconsul, the well-known Gallio, Seneca's brother ("Dulcis Gallio"). The place was notorious for its vicious corruptions. Dion Chrysostom calls it a city, "the most licentious of all that are or have been." (*Orat.*, vol. ii., p. 119, edit. Reiske.) Dean Farrar notes that it was customary to introduce the Corinthians on the stage as drunken men. The Acrocorinthus, a mountain spur nearly 2000 feet high, which rises just above the city, was consecrated to the goddess Aphroditè, who was worshipped with the gross Syrian rites of Astartè, having in her service a thousand women devoted to an impure life. The moral corruptions of the church at such a place, which appear in the epistles, will be the less astonishing when we remember these facts. The church was founded by St. Paul during his first visit to Europe after he had come down from Philippi,

Thessalonica, and Berœa through Athens (A.D. 53), settling in Corinth for a year and a half. At first he preached in the synagogue, and even converted the ruler Crispus. Then being rejected by the Jews, he turned to the Gentiles. (See Acts xviii.) The church was mixed; but it consisted chiefly of Gentiles. (1 Corinthians xii. 2.) There were a few wealthy and cultivated persons in it, but the majority were drawn from the humbler classes. (1 Corinthians i. 26.) Still the church boasted of its intellectuality. In their jealousy the Jews prosecuted St. Paul before Gallio, who, however, dismissed the case. Nevertheless the apostle then felt it wise to remove from Corinth, leaving Apollos in charge of his work.

2. **The Question of a Lost Epistle to the Corinthians.**

There is reason to think that prior to our 1 Corinthians St. Paul had written a short, sharp epistle to the church at Corinth, rebuking the evils of which information had reached him. This seems to be referred to in 1 Corinthians v. 9: "I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators." (1) Instances of a similar phrase used for the very epistle in which it occurs have been cited; but they are not pertinent, as in every case they are found at the end of the document, while this sentence is in the first half of the epistle. (2) Then the very phrase is used by St. Paul for a former epistle in 2 Corinthians vii. 8. Moreover the passage referred to by this verse cannot be found in an earlier part of 1 Corinthians, and the sentence could not point to a later part of the same epistle.

Verses 2, 5, 6, and 7 in the same chapter have been cited as perhaps what the apostle was pointing to. But coming as they do immediately before this verse, could they be described as here: "I wrote unto you in my epistle?" [1]

[1] The opinion that there was a lost epistle, together with the manifest references in 1 Corinthians to an epistle from Corinth, gave rise to two forgeries, one purporting to be the Corinthian letter, the other to be St. Paul's. They were found in the Armenian church, and inserted by Whiston in his collection of Authentic Records belonging to the Old and New Testaments. A translation, partly executed by Lord Byron, is in Moore's *Life of Byron*. It is the opinion of critics that these forgeries cannot be dated earlier than the eleventh century.

3. **1 Corinthians.**

a. *Genuineness.*—The four epistles of this second group are almost universally accepted as genuine. Baur, who admitted no others, acknowledged these. The external evidence for 1 Corinthians is exceptionally good. It is expressly named by Clement of Rome in his epistle to Corinth (*c.* A.D. 95), and it appears to be alluded to by several writers early in the second century.

Clement writes: "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he first write to you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth he sent a letter to you (ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν) by the spirit concerning himself and also Cephas and Apollos, because you had even then formed parties" (Clement, 1 Cor. xlvii. 1). Also compare Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (=C.) with St. Paul's (=P.) further:—C. xx. 4 with P. xv. 38; C. xxiv. 1 with P. xv. 20–23; C. xxiv. 5 with P. xv. 26; C. xxxiv. 8 with P. ii. 9; C. xxxvii. 4 with P. xii. 12 ff.; C. xlviii. 6 with P. x. 24; C. xlix. 1 ff. with P. xiii. Probable allusions to our epistle appear in *Hermas, Sim.* v. 7. 2 (*cf.* 1 Cor. iii. 17); *Polycarp*, v. 3 (*cf.* 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10), and xi. 2 (*cf.* 1 Cor. vi. 2); *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* ii. 3 (*cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 9). Justin Martyr, *Tryph.*, cxi. (*cf.* 1 Cor. v. 7). After Clement of Rome, Irenæus is the first to name the epistle (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 11. 9). It is in the Syriac and Latin versions; Marcion's and the Muratorian Canons, and cited by *Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement A., Tertullian, etc.*

Fitting well into the history, revealing the heart and soul of the apostle, intensely real throughout, the epistle speaks for its own genuineness.

Nevertheless, attempts to discredit it have recently been made in two quarters. (1) By Loman, who, however, holds the gospels to be mythical, and denies the historical existence of Jesus Christ. (2) By Steck, on such ground as that it is inconsistent with *Acts*, that it shows dependence on *Romans* (the ἃ γέγραπται of 1 Cor. iv. 6, referring to *Romans* xii. 3), and also on the gospels (the account of the Lord's Supper coming from *Luke*); and the witnesses for the resurrection appearances in chapter xv. being derived from more than one gospel. More recently Van Manen has argued against the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica.*

b. *Place of Origin and Date.*—The subscription "from Philippi" is ancient since it is in the Syriac; but it is not correct. Probably it was suggested by xvi. 5—read as "I am passing through," taken literally instead of the obvious meaning, "I am about to pass through." Undoubtedly the epistle was written from Ephesus (see xvi. 8 and 19), and towards the end of the apostle's stay in that city, *i.e.*, A.D. 57 (xvi. 3, 8).

(1) Apollos had come from Corinth, and joined St. Paul at Ephesus (i. 12; iii. 4, 22; iv. 6; *cf.* Acts xix. 1.) (2) After leaving Ephesus the apostle purposed to travel by Macedonia to Achaia (xvi. 5–7). This route he took (Acts xx. 1, 2). (3) Aquila and Priscilla are at Ephesus (xvi. 19). They had accompanied St. Paul on his going there from Corinth (Acts xviii. 18, 19). (4) The collection of money for the poor at Jerusalem is now going on in Achaia (xvi. 1–3). It was completed during St. Paul's next stay at Corinth (Acts xx. 3; Romans xv. 26). (5) St. Paul hopes to go by Corinth to Jerusalem (1 Corinthians xvi. 4). This hope he cherished at the end of his time in Ephesus (Acts xix. 21). This brings us to the year 57.[1]

Further, it was before Pentecost (xvi. 8), and perhaps near Easter (v. 6–8).

c. *The Reasons for Writing the Epistle.*—The immediate occasion for sending this letter to Corinth was the receipt of a letter from the church there (vii. 1), brought by deputies (xvi. 17), and containing questions about celibacy (vii. 1), the eating of meat offered to idols (viii. 1); concerning the use of spiritual gifts (xii. 1), and the collection for Jerusalem (xvi. 1), each of which subjects is introduced by the same formula, "Now concerning" (Περὶ δέ). But news had come to the apostle from some members of the household of Chloe (i. 11), and perhaps other visitors from Corinth, that there were grave irregularities in the church—party divisions (i., ii); a case of gross immorality unchecked (v. 1); a Christian going to law with his brother Christian in the pagan courts (vi. 1); indecorous conduct on the part of some women in the church (xi. 5); selfish feasting, and even drunkenness at the *Agapè* and the Lord's supper (xi. 20, 21); denial of the resurrection (xv. 12). St. Paul writes to correct these errors as well as to answer the questions he has received. He had sent Timothy to Corinth (iv. 17). But Timothy could not have arrived yet, as he was to travel round through Macedonia (Acts xix. 22). The epistle would prepare for Timothy, and the action he was to undertake personally on behalf of St. Paul (xvi. 10).

d. *Contents.*—This epistle is remarkably orderly in its arrangement, proceeding from topic to topic *seriatim*.

[1] See CONYBEARE and HOWSON, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, chapter xv.; and Appendix ii.; also new *Bible Dic.*, art. "Chronology."

Introduction, i. 1–9.

Salutation (verses 1–3); thanksgiving (verses 4–9).

(1) *Faults of the Church*, i. 10–vi.

α. Faction (i. 10–iv. 21). Party spirit, following various leaders. This is rebuked on the ground that all the leaders work for a common end, and also that the real power is not man's at all, but God's.

β. A case of neglected immorality. A man had taken his stepmother, perhaps married her. The church is to deliver such a person to Satan for chastisement. St. Paul reminds the Corinthians that he had warned them in a previous letter not to associate with immoral persons (v.).

γ. Going to law with a brother in the pagan courts is rebuked. The church is advised to constitute its own court for disputes among the brethren (vi. 1–11). A warning against profligacy follows (verses 12–20).

(2) *Reply to the Letter of the Corinthians*, vii.–xi. 1.

α. Marriage and celibacy. It would be good to avoid marriage. Still, those already married are not to separate. The apostle has no commandment for the unmarried, though under present circumstances he would prefer to see others unencumbered as he is (vii.).

β. Food offered to idols. Christian liberty vindicated; still the danger of idolatry through participation in idol feasts must be avoided (viii.). St. Paul's own example of not claiming one's rights (ix.). The higher expediency (x–xi. 1).

(3) *Return to Faults of the Church*, xi. 2–34.

α. Women to behave more decorously in the Church (xi. 2–16).

β Disorderly conduct at the Lord's Supper and the *Agapè* rebuked. An account of the institution of the Lord's Supper (xi. 17–34).

(4) *Reply to a Question concerning Spiritual Gifts.* (xii.–xiv.)

α. Unity and diversity, one body and many members (xii.).

β. Love the greatest grace (xiii.).

γ. Prophesying and tongues (xiv.).

(5) *Vindication of the Resurrection*, (xv.).

α. The truth proved from the resurrection of Christ, evidence for which is cited (xv. 1–34).

β. Objections answered by repudiating the gross Jewish doctrine, and teaching a spiritual resurrection (xv. 35–58).

(6) *Practical Directions and Personal Details*, xvi.

Directions concerning the collection. Timothy's mission. Exhortation and salutation.

The Factions.—The four names—Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ—suggest four parties. Baur allowed only two—the Pauline, with which are united those who claim Apollos; the Petrine, with which are associated those claiming to be of Christ. But this was arbitrary to square with his theory. Pfleiderer allows three, denying the existence of a Christ party, as this must have inclined to one of the other three. Those claiming the Christ name might be neutral, standing aloof from all parties; and yet in doing so they would tend to become a party unawares. Moreover, 2 Corinthians x. 7 implies that the people taking the Christ name showed narrowness in refusing it to St. Paul. If they were a party (1) they might be those who had known our Lord on earth. But it is not likely such would be at Corinth. Besides the personal name Jesus would be more suitable for a reference to the life of Christ on earth. (2) They might be men who claimed a direct mystical relation with the Christ in a semi-gnostic sense. (3) The view that they simply repudiated human leaders, and so took only the name of Christ, is more simple, and it fits the case. Innocent in the beginning, such a position would easily lead on to the arrogance seen in 2 Corinthians. Then the Apollos party might represent the "wise," who are rebuked in the earlier part of the epistle, and the Peter party the Judaisers. But the latter idea is not probable. It is more likely that such a party would claim James. Therefore it would seem that the divisions are not formed on doctrinal lines, but represent personal predilections—some championing Paul, some his successor Apollos, some turning to Peter as the true head of the apostolate, others repudiating all human names, and claiming only to be followers of Christ. St. Paul's treatment of the question favours this view. He does not discuss doctrinal differences, but he shows the true harmony of the work of the various leaders.

4. **2 Corinthians.**

a. *Genuineness.* — This scarcely needs discussion. The almost universal acceptance of the four epistles of the group indicates overwhelming reasons for receiving them. 2 Corinthians was early cited, though not so early as 1 Corinthians. It is first mentioned in surviving Church literature by Irenæus. The character of the writing, the vivid self-portraiture of the apostle, and the eager, vital grasp of facts of the time stamp it as original.

2 Corinthians is cited in Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 7. 1; iv. 28. 3; Athenagoras, *De Res.*, 18; Clement A., *Strom.*, iv. 16; Tertullian, *De Pudic.* 13, and in all these instances, except that of Athenagoras it is indicated by name.

b. *Two Epistles.*—The view of Hilgenfeld and Holtzmann that our 2 Corinthians consists of two epistles, or rather one epistle and part, if not the whole, of another, has been growing in favour. The division is put at the end of chapter ix., and the chapters that follow are regarded as constituting an epistle, or part of an epistle, written earlier than the preceding chapters — a composition which comes chronologically between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians i.–ix. At this point the tone of the apostle suddenly changes. In the first nine chapters he is grateful and hopeful with regard to the whole church at Corinth; here he writes in sorrow concerning the state of the whole Church, and rebukes it sternly. It has been suggested as an explanation of this sudden change that while he was writing 2 Corinthians he received bad news from Corinth. But this would mean that Titus, who had brought the cheering report referred to earlier (vii. 6), had been completely deceived. Besides, would the apostle then have let the cheerful part of his letter go unaltered, and have changed his tone so completely for the later part without giving a hint of his reason for this sudden alteration? Then, it has been said, the nine chapters are to the faithful section of the church, and the remainder to a troublesome faction. That cannot be, because in both cases the *whole* church is addressed—in the one with general congratulations, in the other with general complaints.

Note in particular the following points:—

(1) 2 Corinthians ii. 4 refers to a previous letter written in much affliction and anguish. This would scarcely apply to 1 Corinthians. But it would well characterise the latter part of 2 Corinthians.

(2) 2 Corinthians vii. 8, 9 also refers to the severity of a previous letter in a way that would apply to 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. better than to 1 Corinthians.

(3) In 2 Corinthians iii. 1 we read, "Are we beginning *again* to commend ourselves?" When had St. Paul commended himself to Corinth? Much more in 2 Corinthians than in 1 Corinthians (*e.g.*, x. 7–18; xi. 16–33; xii. 5, 11, 17).

(4) In 2 Corinthians we find the apostle shrinking from the idea of visiting Corinth. (2 Corinthians i. 23; ii. 1, 4.) No such feeling was exhibited in 1 Corinthians, in spite of the complaints he then had to make (*e.g.*, 1 Corinthians xvi. 8, 9). But if he had written 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. in the interval with reference to new troubles in the Corinthian church, the situation would be altered, and the change of feeling accounted for. This is borne out by 2 Corinthians xii. 20, 21 and xiii. 1, 2.

For these reasons it seems that we should accept the view that 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. is the earlier epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4; iii. 1; vii. 8, 9, an epistle rebuking the Corinthians for some grievous evils of which St. Paul has heard.[1]

c. *Circumstances and Reasons for Writing.*—(1) 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. After despatching 1 Corinthians St. Paul seems to have paid a brief visit to Corinth. We have no mention of it in Acts. But we learn from 2 Corinthians xii. 14 that he must have been twice to Corinth before writing this, as he is now prepared for a third visit.[2] He seems to mention the second visit as an accomplished fact if we may read with R.V., "When I was present the second time" (xiii. 2). It would seem that he had been badly received on this visit. The reference to his weak bodily presence and unimpressive oratory (x. 10) cannot apply to the time when he had been living and ministering in Corinth; it must allude to a time when he had been coldly received. Further, the offence referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 5 is scarcely the same as that of 1 Corinthians v., because this implies a personal insult to the apostle, while the earlier one was a case of immorality, having no relation to himself. It would seem that someone had grossly insulted him, and repudiated his authority. The party arrogating the name of Christ now

[1] See J. H. KENNEDY, *The Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians.* DRESHER, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1897, accepts the idea of two epistles in our 2 Corinthians, but puts chapters x.–xiii. later than chapters i.–ix. This view is liable to the objection that Titus was deceived as to the state of Corinth, and it would not allow for the aptness of the allusions above referred to.

[2] The explanation that as the apostle only writes of being "prepared" a third time, he may mean that he had made preparations for his second visit at some previous time, and then had postponed it, so that adding these preparations to those he is now making, and the preparations for his first visit, we get three. But this is most improbable. If the apostle meant that, he would say "the second time," for it would be the second preparation then in mind.

seems to be most active in opposing the apostle (x. 7). The visit when this was made apparent had been very painful to St. Paul. That visit seems to be in mind when he writes that he has determined not to come *again* in sorrow (ii. 1). The first visit was not in sorrow. Since this visit was so unfortunate, and the church is still in an unhappy condition, the apostle writes the epistle containing 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. to rebuke and expostulate. He also sends Titus to Corinth.

(2) 2 Corinthians i.–ix. This was written after Titus had returned, bringing most cheering news. The Corinthians had taken the letter in good part, and the rude opponent had been severely handled by the church, and was now plunged in penitence (ii. 7). St. Paul is full of joy and thankfulness. His heart melts for the offender whom he asks the church to forgive.

d. *Place and Time of Writing.*—2 Corinthians x.–xiii. gives no indication of its locality, but if it precedes 2 Corinthians i.–ix., it must have been written during St. Paul's residence at Ephesus. 2 Corinthians i.–ix. is written from Macedonia after the apostle had left amid scenes of violence and danger in the riot at the theatre (Acts xix. 23–41; xx. 1), to which apparently he refers in 2 Corinthians i. 8–10. Those scenes are still fresh in mind, and therefore the intermediate epistle which makes no allusion to them must have preceded them (and the departure from Ephesus). The apostle had gone to Troas first, but not yet seeing Titus he had passed on to Macedonia, where Titus had met him (ii. 12, 13). This would be the end of the year 57.

e. *Contents.*—Taking the document as it stands in our N.T., we have two main divisions, corresponding to the idea of two epistles just discussed.

(1) i.–ix., *A very affectionate letter of thanksgiving, congratulation, and exhortation.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation.

3–14, Thanksgiving for God's mercy in affliction, with prayer that a like comfort may come to others in their affliction.

15–ii. 2, The promised visit postponed for the sake of the Corinthians.

3–11, The previous letter, the sorrow it caused, the penitence of the offender, the forgiveness of him.

12–17, Good news from Titus. Thanks to God. Triumph in Christ.

iii. 1–5, The fruits of the apostle's ministry are his commendation; yet they are God's work.

6–18, The superior glory of this ministry of the gospel of life above that of the old Mosaic dispensation.

iv., The joys and privileges of this ministry, in spite of trouble and peril; present light affliction working for eternal glory through the vision of the Unseen.

v. 1–10, Hopes beyond death inspiring present courage.

11–19, The constraining love of Christ and the new creation in Him.

20–vi. 13, The persuasive ministry in sorrow and sympathy.

14–vii. 1, Warning against being unequally yoked with unbelievers.

vii. 2–16, Reflections on the previous letter, the errand of Titus, and the godly sorrow that followed.

viii. 1–15, Concerning the collection for the poor at Jerusalem. The Macedonians most generous in this.

16–24, In praise of Titus.

ix., Exhortations to generosity in the collection, with reminders of God's bounty.

(2) x.–xiii., *A most sorrowful and vehement expostulation.*

x., A warning to those who despise the apostle's authority.

xi. 1–7, This authority reaffirmed.

8–33, A recital of the apostle's rights and arduous experiences in his work.

xii. 1–10, A heavenly vision and a thorn in the flesh.

11–13, The signs of an apostle.

14–21, How Paul and Titus had treated the Corinthians.

xiii., Further warnings and exhortations; greetings; and a final benediction.

5. Galatians.

a. *The Galatian Churches.*—The word "Galatia" is used in two applications:—(1) ethnographically, for the district in the extreme north of Asia Minor, which was inhabited by immigrant Celts (Galatian = Gaul) from the west, and (2) politically for the Roman province, which included with this district a much larger area—the greater part of Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia, and a portion of Phrygia. In this province of Galatia were situated the towns visited by St. Paul during his first journey through Asia Minor—Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. There is good reason to believe that the churches addressed in Galatians are those which the apostle had planted in those towns.

Bishop Lightfoot argued for North Galatia.[1] But since the publication of his commentary, the argument for the south Galatian theory—that which, taking the name to apply to the whole province, allows of the churches which we know St. Paul to have planted in the south of it to be those addressed in the epistle—has been powerfully strengthened by Professor Ramsay's researches in Asia Minor, and arguments based on them.[2]

The following considerations make for this position:—(1) St. Paul invariably writes of the regions he visits under the names of the Roman provinces in which they are situated—Asia, Macedonia, Achaia. In this he differs from St. Luke, who uses the popular local names. Thus we may account for the fact that in Acts the churches of the first missionary journey are not said to be Galatian, but described as in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 14) and Pamphylia (xiv. 24). (2) It would be singular that Acts should give no details of the founding of churches so intimately connected with St. Paul as Galatians shows the churches there addressed to be; and still more remarkable that in none of his epistles the apostle should refer to churches which Acts connects so closely with him as those at Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. If these are the Galatian churches, both difficulties disappear. We have a full account of the founding of the Galatian churches in Acts, and St. Paul frequently refers to the churches of his first missionary journey through Asia Minor. (3) It is highly improbable that St. Paul would have taken the long journey over a wild, almost impassable mountain region to the Celtic Galatians. Professor Ramsay's travels on the spot have brought out this difficulty. St. Paul usually travelled on Roman roads, on the great highways between the centres of population. (4) In 1 Peter i. 1 Galatia appears in a list of

[1] *Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 1–35.

[2] RAMSAY, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chapters v., vi.; *St. Paul, etc.*, chapters v., vi., viii. This view, which has been maintained by Renan, Weizsäcker, Hausrath, Schenkel, Pfleiderer, etc., is accepted and well defended in most recent N.T. Introductions, *e.g.*, ZAHN'S *Einleitung*, Vol. I., pp. 124–126 [1897], BACON'S *Introduction to the N. T.*, pp. 58–60.

Roman provinces, and therefore must be understood as a province. Among minor considerations note that Barnabas is referred to more than once in Galatians (ii. 1 ; ii. 13). Now Barnabas was with St. Paul in the mission to the southern churches (Acts xiii. 2, 43, 46, 50 ; xiv. 12, 14, 20), and was therefore well known among them. But he was not with the apostle during the second journey, when, according to the North Galatian theory, the Galatian churches would have been founded (Acts xv. 36–40 ; xvi. 6). Then Professor Ramsay, supposing that the "thorn [stake] in the flesh" (2 Corinthians xii. 7) represents an illness—probably malarial fever—contracted at Perga, in the weakness consequent on which St. Paul visited the towns beyond the Taurus Mountains, suggests that it is referred to in Galatians iv. 13, 14. It has been objected that secular writers do not refer to these towns as Galatian. But then St. Paul's known constant habit of writing of Roman provinces must be set off against that. Nor was it only an idiosyncrasy. He delighted to think of the large possibilities of the gospel planted in local centres, and in this case no one local name would cover all the churches addressed. Moreover, there were Phrygians among them, and it was not considered complimentary to address anybody as a Phrygian, that name being popularly used for a low character.

b. *Genuineness of the Epistle.* — Being one of the four almost unquestioned[1] writings of St. Paul, this does not require much time for the examination of its credentials. Possibly alluded to by several of the Apostolic Fathers, and apparently by Justin Martyr and Athenagoras in the middle of the second century, it is expressly named by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, etc. But more convincing than any external testimony is the witness of the epistle to its own genuineness. Its vehemence, its abruptness, its very slips of grammar show how it comes hot from the heart of the apostle. It exactly suits the circumstances of his time, and could not fit in with Gnostic, Ebionite, or Catholic reaction ideas of a later period. The very difficulty of reconciling some of its narrative with Acts speaks for its honesty. A Pauline imitator knowing Acts would not have manufactured this hindrance to the acceptance of his work.

For external evidence *cf.* Clement R., 1 Epis., xlix. 6 with Gal. i. 4 ; Barnabas xix. 8 with Gal. vi. 6 ; Polycarp, *Phil.*, iii. 2 with Gal. iv. 26 ; v. 1 with Gal. vi. 7 ; vi. 3 with Gal. iv. 18 ; ix. 2 with Gal. ii. 2 ; Justin Martyr, *Tryph.*, 95 with Gal. iii. 10 ; *Epis. to Diognetus*, v. 5 with Gal. iv. 10 ; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, xvi. with Gal. iv. 9, as possible allusions. Irenæus cites and names the epistle in *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 7. 2 ; iii. 16. 3 ; v. 21. 1 ; also Clement A., *Strom.*, iii. 16 ; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v. 2. 1 ; *De Præscrip.*, vi.

[1] Except in the Dutch school, see page 364.

c. *Occasion.*—The occasion for the writing of this epistle is very evident in its contents. St. Paul is amazed and distressed with the alarming news that his Galatian converts have been tampered with, and perverted from the gospel he has taught them, by some Jewish Christians who have come to persuade them to accept circumcision, and submit to the law for the perfecting of their Christianity. These intruders have been so successful that the apostle thinks the Galatians must be bewitched. One consequence of this perversion is that the authority of St. Paul and his influence have been undermined. The apostle writes in a tone of angry, though painful expostulation. The Galatians have seen Christ crucified clearly set before them; who then has bewitched them? They had been most affectionate to the apostle himself, ready to pluck out their eyes for him; how then are they now turned against him? Thus St. Paul has a twofold aim in writing:—(1) *The vindication of his own apostleship.* This he does by appealing to his inward call direct from Christ (i. 1, 12, 15, 16), and reciting the circumstances of his early Christian career, which show that he could not have received his gospel from the other apostles. But the establishment of his claim is only to lead to a larger question. (2) *The clear demonstration of his gospel.* St. Paul will have his readers see the fatal mistake of going back to the law, since faith is the sole means of justification before God. This position he argues to prove.

d. *Date and Place of Writing.*—These points must be determined to some extent by the decision as to the locality of the Galatian churches. With the North Galatian theory we cannot date the epistle earlier than some time after the conclusion of St. Paul's stay at Corinth. In Galatians iv. 13 he writes of when he preached to the Galatians "the first time." This implies that there had been a second visit. On the North Galatian theory these two visits would seem to be those of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. This brings us to A.D. 54 as the earliest possible date. But on the South Galatian theory the first visit was that of Acts xiii., xiv., and the second

that of Acts xvi. 1–5. This would allow of as early a date as A.D. 51. Moreover, the phrase, "I marvel that ye are so *quickly* removing from him that called you" (Galatians i. 6), would seem to show that the epistle was not written long after the conversion of the Galatians. Still this is an indefinite expression. While it would incline us to give an early date to the epistle, making it the first written of St. Paul's epistles, there are strong reasons for placing it later. In style and thought it is closely allied to the epistles of the second group. To place it before 1 and 2 Thessalonians is to dislocate all indications of development in the apostle's teaching. The four epistles of the second group are all concerned with the great controversy concerning the relation of Christianity to Judaism, and they all reach the high-water mark of the apostle's vigorous writing. Thoughts and phrases repeat themselves in this group as nowhere else. It is more difficult to determine the place of the epistle in the group. The indications that it was written not too long after the founding of the Galatian churches would urge us to put it first, and therefore at Ephesus even before the writing of 1 Corinthians—say early in A.D. 57. On the other hand the great resemblance of its chief ideas and of many of its verbal expressions to Romans should perhaps incline us to follow Lightfoot, and place it immediately before that epistle, in which case we have to take it as written from Corinth on the occasion of the apostle's second visit to that city, probably early in A.D. 58.

e. *Contents.*—The epistle falls into two parts: (1) Biographical; (2) doctrinal.

(1) *Biographical*, i., ii.

i. 1–5, Salutation, without a word of the usual congratulations.

6–10, Astonishment at the quick perversion of the Galatians.

11–17, Account of the apostle's call—from the inside. His early Judaism, persecuting the Church; yet his Divine destiny from his birth; the revelation of God's Son in him; his not conferring with any man; his retirement to Arabia.

18–24, St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, staying fifteen days with Cephas, seeing James, but no other apostle. Preaching tour in Syria and Cilicia.

ii. 1–10, Visit to Jerusalem fourteen years later with Barnabas, attended by Titus. Going up "by revelation." A private account of the mission to the Gentiles given to "them who were of repute." Attempts of "false brethren" to get Titus circumcised successfully resisted. James, Cephas, and John give Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, agreeing that they should go to the Gentiles, but commissioning them to remember the poor brethren in Jerusalem while Peter has the charge of work among the Jews.

11–21, Cephas at Antioch withstood by Paul for weakly yielding to some who had come from James, and ceasing to eat with the Gentiles, even carrying Barnabas with him.

It is difficult to bring this narrative into agreement with Acts. The epistle only names two visits to Jerusalem. The first (Galatians i. 18, 19) can be identified with that of Acts ix. 26–30 without much difficulty, though in Acts he preaches "boldly" at Jerusalem and disputes with the Hellenists, while in Galatians his visit, lasting only fifteen days, seems to have been wholly private, so that he was unknown by face to the churches of Judæa. There is no absolute contradiction here. Of course St. Paul's own narrative must be accepted as the most authentic account, if we cannot quite reconcile the two. But what of the second-named visit? (Galatians ii. 1–10.) This has generally been identified with that of Acts xv. 1–29. But while in Acts Paul goes with Barnabas as a deputation from Antioch to consult the Church at Jerusalem, and a meeting of the Church is held, from which a letter is sent back to Antioch; in Galatians he does not refer to the "Jerusalem council," or the "decree" sent from it, but says he laid his gospel "privately before them who were of repute," and obtained a confirmation of his mission from the three leaders, James, Cephas, and John. Moreover in Acts we read of an intermediate visit, when "Barnabas and Saul" were sent up from Antioch with relief for the Jerusalem Christians in a time of famine. (Acts xi. 27–30.) Yet the narrative in Galatians would suggest that St. Paul is reciting all his visits to Jerusalem.[1] Professor Ramsay proposes to identify the second-named visit in Galatians with the second in Acts.[2] But St. Paul makes no reference to the famine or the deputation with contributions. Moreover, different as are the accounts in Galatians ii. 1–10 and Acts xv.,

[1] This apparent discrepancy has been used to discredit the historicity of Acts. By the recent Dutch it is turned the other way, to discredit Galatians.

[2] *St. Paul*, etc., chapter iii.

it may be noted: (1) Describing the case from his own standpoint, the apostle might tell of a revelation which encouraged him to go, and which would not be inconsistent with the Antioch Church's action. (2) In Galatians he may be referring to his own private movements at Jerusalem previous to the more public meeting of the Church. (3) The visit during the famine may not have been mentioned in Galatians, because St. Paul did not then see the apostles. Acts expressly says the gifts were given to the elders (Acts xi. 30), and does not mention the apostles in this connection, suggesting that they were absent, perhaps owing to Herod's persecution. But in Galatians St. Paul is simply concerned with proving that he had not received his gospel from the apostles. A further difficulty has been felt with the narrative of St. Peter's weakness in Galatians which, it is said, could not have occurred after the council. But (1) How do we know that St. Peter might not have gone back under pressure from the position he held at Jerusalem? St. Paul's narrative implies that St. Peter's first action and conviction went with the liberal view. And the Jerusalem decision did not actually allow Jews to eat with Gentiles. But perhaps St. Paul does not give this incident in its chronological order with relation to what he narrates before. He does not introduce it with any note of time. It may have occurred between the two visits to Jerusalem which he describes.[1]

(2) *Doctrinal*, iii.–vi.

iii. 1–5, Expostulation with the Galatians for being "bewitched" into forsaking the gospel of Christ crucified and the power of faith.

6–14, Abraham justified by faith. In O.T. the righteous live by faith.

15–22, The covenant with Abraham older than the law, which only came in as an afterthought because of transgressions.

23–29, The law as a tutor to bring us to Christ, in whom human distinctions of race, etc. are at an end.

iv. 1–7, The slave and the son.

8–11, Return to beggarly elements.

12–20, Pleading in recollection of the old friendship.

21–v. 1, The allegory of Hagar.

2–12, The uselessness of circumcision.

13–15, Freedom to be exercised in love.

16–26, The works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit.

vi. 1–5, Bearing one another's burdens.

6–10, The duty of supporting the teachers. The harvest.

[1] See HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Chronology," by C. H. TURNER, vol. i., p. 424.

11–18, An addition in the apostle's own handwriting. Not circumcision, but a new creature. St. Paul branded with the marks of Jesus. Benediction.

6. **Romans.**

a. *The Roman Church.*—The origin of the Church at Rome is lost in obscurity. It is clear from the course of the history in Acts,[1] and also from this epistle which is addressed to Roman Christians as people whom the apostle had not yet seen (Romans i. 8–11; vi. 17; xv. 28, 29, 32), that the church was not planted by St. Paul. It is almost equally certain that it was not founded by St. Peter. Not only is there no reference in Acts or anywhere else in the N.T. earlier than 1 Peter to that apostle going to Rome,[2] but it is also clear that he could not have been there when St. Paul wrote Romans, or the fact would be mentioned. Besides, St. Paul would not have expressed his eagerness to visit the church and impart some spiritual gift (Romans i. 11), as this would have been contrary to his rule of not building on another man's foundation. (Romans xv. 20.) Possibly the church was founded by some of the Pentecost converts. (Acts ii. 10.)

The earliest extant assertion that St. Peter was a founder of the Church of Rome was made by Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 170), but he associates St. Paul in the work, which we know to be incorrect. Evidently it is a loose statement, though it may be taken as ancient testimony to the presence and work of the two apostles in the city at some time.[3]

The church at Rome seems to have consisted of Jews and Greeks. Chapters ii., iii., and iv. continually address Jews. This is very marked at ii. 17 ff. And yet other passages show that the majority are Gentiles. (i. 5, 6, 13; xv. 15, 16.) St. Paul does not address these people

[1] See Acts xix. 21; xxiii. 11; and especially Acts xxviii. 14, 15, which describes Roman Christians as welcoming St. Paul on his first visit to the city.

[2] And that only on the supposition that the Babylon of 1 Peter v. 13 is Rome.

[3] Τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε.—EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, ii. 25.

collectively under the title of the "church," as he had addressed the readers of all his previous letters,[1] but as "saints," and he names no church officers—bishops, elders, or deacons. Yet it is evident that the Christians constitute an assembly, meeting and working together (xiv. 1), with a real fellowship (xv. 1, 2), various forms of service falling to the lot of various members according to their gifts (xii. 6–8). A similar condition was found at Corinth.

b. *Genuineness of the Epistle.*—This is the fourth of the virtually unquestioned epistles.[2] It was evidently known to Clement R. (*c.* A.D. 95), and it is often referred to by second century writers, Irenæus, as usual, being the first to quote it by name. Its extraordinary vigour and freshness of thought and the perfectly sublime reach of its argument stamp this as an inspired work of the highest order, and authenticate its claim to apostolic authorship. The personality of the apostle is evident throughout. It is thoroughly characteristic.

For external evidence compare 1 Clement, xxxv. 5 with Rom. i. 29–32; Polycarp, *Phil.*, vi. 2 with Rom. xiv. 10; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.*, i. 14 with Rom. ii. 6-9; Ignatius, *Eph.*, 18 with Rom. i. 3, 4; and Smyrn. 1 with Rom. i. 3, 4. The epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne (Euseb., *H.E.*, v. 1. 6) with Rom. viii. 18; Justin Martyr, *Trypho.*, xxiii. with Rom. iv. 3, 10, 11. Irenæus quotes "the presbyters" as saying "all men are wanting in the glory of God, but they are not justified by themselves" (*Adv. Haer.*, iv. 27. 2), evidently alluding to Rom. iii. 23; and these are men of an earlier generation. The first occasion when the epistle is quoted by name is in Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 16. 3. Irenæus quotes it on several other occasions. So do Clement A., Tertullian, etc. It is in the Marcionite canon, the *Muratorian Fragment*, the early versions.

c. *Integrity.*—Doubts have been felt as to the right of the last two chapters (xv., xvi.) to be included in the epistle, a few extreme critics rejecting them as not genuine, but many more holding that though written by St. Paul, they do not belong to this epistle, but are fragments of other epistles. The case is strongest in regard to chapter xvi. There are good reasons for detaching this chapter and taking

[1] 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1; Gal. i. 2.

[2] Though, in common with the other three, questioned by Steck, etc., and the Dutch school. See page 364.

it as in all probability a fragment of an epistle to Ephesus, commending Phœbe to that church. (1) This chapter abounds in greetings and the most varied personal characterising of the men and women saluted. It is improbable that St. Paul knew so many people at Rome. We are told that many Jews visited the metropolis for purposes of trade, etc. True; but what a cluster of intimate friends we have here! More than are saluted in any other epistle. Yet the earlier chapters are addressed as to strangers. On the other hand St. Paul knew many in Ephesus, where he had laboured for two years. (Acts xix. 10.)

(2) The chief reason for selecting Ephesus among the places well known to the apostle comes from the mention of Prisca and Aquila (xvi. 3), for we know they were at Ephesus a short time before (1 Corinthians xvi. 19; Acts xviii. 18, 26); and when they are next met with they are also at Ephesus. (2 Timothy iv. 19.) The probable inference is that they were to be found there in the interval. Then Epænetus was also of Ephesus or its neighbourhood, as he is called "the firstfruits of Asia." (Romans xvi. 5.)

(3) The tone of xvi. 17–20 does not agree with that of the earlier part of the epistle. It refers to known divisions, of which the body of the epistle gives no hint; its appeal to "the teaching which ye learnt" implies that St. Paul knew what that teaching had been; and the strong words used in characterising the disturbers, followed by the affectionate paternal appeal to his readers to be wise and true, is quite of another tone from the courteous address of Romans as to people whom the apostle did not yet know personally.

Further, in regard to the question of integrity, the following points should be noted :—

(1) Chapters xv. and xvi. were not in Marcion's Romans. But then Marcion was not solely influenced by questions of literary genuineness in limiting his canon. The acceptance of the O.T. in xv. 4 was contrary to his doctrine.

(2) The epistle seems to have three endings—at xv. 33; xvi. 20; and xvi. 27.

(3) The final doxology appears in various places in different copies of the epistle.

(α) At the end of xvi. (The MSS. ℵ BCDE; Pesh., Vulg., Memph., Aeth. versions; some copies known to Origen). (β) At the end of xiv. (L; most cursives; Greek lectionaries; the later Syriac, Gothic, Armen., Slav. versions; copies mentioned by Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, etc.). (γ) In both places (A and some cursives). (δ) Omitted altogether by F.G. and some copies alluded to by Jerome. The preponderating evidence is for (α), *i.e.*, to read the doxology at the end of the epistle. Still the variations are significant.

These data have given rise to considerable divergence of opinion. Semler, who first raised doubts as to the integrity of the epistle, took xvi. to contain a list of teachers who were to receive copies of the epistle on the way to Rome, and xv. special directions for those teachers. Paulus regarded xv. as an appendix for the enlightened, and xvi. as an added leaflet of greetings.

Baur held that neither of the chapters was written by St. Paul, maintaining that they were added to reconcile the Judaisers and the Paulinists. Like Marcion, he could not reconcile xv. 4 with his idea of St. Paul's position; and he regarded xvi. as deliberately composed to make it appear that the apostle had many friends at Rome. Dr. Samuel Davidson, while retaining xv., rejected xvi. as spurious. But for the most part, the Pauline authorship of both chapters is now admitted. Renan divides the epistle thus:—(1) i.–xi., xv., for Rome; (2) i.–xiv., xvi. 1–20, a copy for Ephesus; (3) i.–xiv., xvi. 21–24, a copy for Thessalonica—the names in the latter section appearing to him to point in that direction; (4) i.–xiv., xvi. 25–27, a copy for some unknown church, the apostle himself having issued different editions of the epistle. Spitta considers that there are two epistles laid together, the second consisting of i. 7–12; xii.–xv. 7; and xvi. 1–20, which we have combined with the original epistle to the Romans. Bishop Lightfoot argued that all but the last four verses went to Rome, and that subsequently the apostle issued another edition, in which he substituted these verses for chapters xv., xvi. This theory rests partly on the fact that the western MS. G. omits ἐν Ῥώμῃ in two places (i. 7 and 15). A double omission could not be accidental, and it is supported by the cursive 47. The theory also attempts to account for some of the other peculiarities of the last two chapters. Dr. Hort disputed this position, maintaining that the doxology summed up the whole argument of the epistle, and attributing the MS. variations partly to the influence of Marcion on the text, and partly to the way the epistle was divided in lectionaries.[1]

d. *Occasion of Writing.*—In part the epistle seems to have been designed to prepare the Romans for a visit from the apostle; but its chief aim was to guide the church to

[1] For a full discussion of these points see SANDAY and HEADLAM, *Internat. Com. on Rom.*, pp. lxxxv.–xcviii., and LIGHTFOOT, *Biblical Essays.* Among recent critics who assign xvi. to Ephesus are WEISS, *Introd.* (Eng. trans., pp. 321, 322); JÜLICHER, *Einleitung*, pp. 72–74; HOLTZMANN, *Einleitung*, pp. 242–246; PFLEIDERER, *Urchristenthum*, p. 145; LIPSIUS, *Hand.-Com on Rom.*, p. 86. On the other hand the integrity of the epistle is maintained among recent critics by GODET, *Introd.*, Vol. I., pp. 468–482, and ZAHN, *Einleitung*, Vol. I., pp. 267–298.

full Christian liberty and righteousness by faith, and then to guard against antinomianism and inculcate brotherly charity. If the epistle had been issued in successive editions to various churches, it might be regarded as a general presentation of St. Paul's gospel. It was natural that he should desire to send such a document to Rome, the metropolis of the world. Much as the positive theme of this epistle resembles that of Galatians, it must be observed that the error opposed is not the same, for while in Galatians St. Paul resists Judaistic Christianity, here it is Judaism, pure and simple, with which he contrasts the new gospel of God-given righteousness through faith.

e. *Date and Place of Origin.*—The epistle is written from Achaia (xv. 25, 26), therefore probably from Corinth. The occasion must be the second visit recorded in Acts (xx. 2). It could not be the first, that of Acts xviii., because the apostle had preached the gospel as far as Illyricum. (Romans xv. 19.) This gives us as a probable date early in A.D. 58. The epistle has many echoes of the vehement Galatian epistle, and seems to have been written soon after it.[1]

f. *Contents.*—The epistle falls into two parts: (1) Doctrinal; (2) Practical.

i. 1–7, Opening salutation.

8–17, Interest in the Romans. Desire to visit and help them.

Part i. *Doctrinal*, i. 18–xi. 36.

(1) Universal sinfulness, i.–iii. 20.

i. 18–32, Seen in the degraded state of the pagan world.

ii., Without excuse when also found among the Jews. This shows contempt of God's law. They who have not the law are a law to themselves, having the law of conscience in their hearts. Jews the more to blame for not practising what they preach. The true Jew must be one inwardly; the true circumcision that of the heart.

iii. 1–8, The Jew's privilege. He has the oracles of God. God's wrath just.

[1] See LIGHTFOOT, *Galatians*, pp. 45–48.

9–20, Scripture testimony to sin. No excuse.

(2) Justification and its effects, iii. 21–viii.

iii. 21–31, God's righteousness, apart from law, through faith in Christ, whom God set forth to be a medium of mercy. Therefore all exulting on our part is excluded.

iv., Abraham justified by faith.

v. 1–11, Justification leading to peace and proving God's love.

12–21, The analogy of Adam. As sin entered through one man, Adam, so the free gift enters through one, Christ; but with differences.

vi. 1–14, Antinomianism excluded:—*Shall we sin that grace may abound?* No; because the old self is dead, crucified with Christ, and we now live in Him.

15–23, *Shall we sin because we are not under law?* No; because we are no longer servants of sin, but servants of righteousness.

vii. 1–6, The analogy of the woman who is free to marry again when her husband is dead. We, dead to the law, can be united to Christ.

7–25, The use of the law in rousing the consciousness of sin.

It is much disputed whether this passage is autobiographical, and if so, whether it refers to the apostle's present or past experience. The intense feeling that pervades it points to real experience. In favour of its referring to the present the actual struggles of Christian men are appealed to. On the other hand, St. Paul begins with a sort of biographical recital, mentioning first the unconscious innocence of childhood, and then the awakening of conscience (verse 9). The struggle follows without any mention of the great change of regeneration. And further, chapter viii. points to the serenity of the Christian in contrast with the misery depicted in chapter vii.

viii., The life of the Spirit. Sonship, redemption, intercession, triumph.

(3) The fate of the Jews, ix.–xi.

God has a right to choose whom He will. The Jews rejected because of unbelief.

Baur regarded this as the chief part of the epistle. Others have held it to be out of harmony with the rest of the espistle, and almost an incumbrance. But after rejecting Judaism it is natural that St. Paul should consider the people most interested in it, his own people too, and their position in the light of the new teaching.

Part ii. *Practical*, xii.–xvi.

xii., Gifts and corresponding duties.

xiii., Duties to rulers, to our neighbours; awaking to the light.

xiv.–xv. 13, The weak in faith to be received and not disturbed. Some conscientiously refuse to eat meat and observe days. The stronger and freer have not these scruples. The strong should bear the burdens of the weak.

The question here raised is different from that in 1 Corinthians concerning the lawfulness of eating meat offered to idols. There is no reference to idols and heathen sacrifices in Romans. The "weak" refuse to eat meat at all, practise vegetarianism as a matter of conscience. These would not be the Jewish section of the church, unless they were Essenes; but it is not likely that this obscure party which had its home by the Dead Sea would be represented at Rome. It is more probable that Pythagorean ideas were affecting some of the Gentile part of the church. Then the observing of days would not refer to Jewish Sabbath-keeping, etc., but to pagan notions of lucky and unlucky days.

xv. 14–33, Concluding personal remarks on the apostle's work and his desire to visit Rome and Spain.

xvi. 1, 2, Commendation of Phœbe, a helper and support of the church at Cenchræa.

3–16, A number of individual salutations.

17–20, Warning against false teachers.

21–23, Salutations from St. Paul's companions.

25–27, Concluding Doxology.

7. Characteristics of the Group.

These four great epistles, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, all written within a twelvemonth and separated by four years from the preceding group, and by another four years from the next group of epistles, stand by themselves as containing between them the most complete and vigorous presentation of the apostle's teaching. The least disputed books in the N.T., they have been named "the quadrilateral of Christianity," and it has been shown that if we possessed no other documents it would be possible to substantiate the main facts and principles of the Christian religion on the basis of these epistles. They show us St. Paul at the height

of his power, burdened with the care of the churches, and harassed by the antagonism of opponents who claim the authority and prestige of the older type of Christianity prevalent at the mother church of Jerusalem. At first St. Paul's liberalism is practical—the free offer of the gospel to the world at large. But controversy stimulates an intellectual justification of it. Thus in these epistles where that process is carried on we see the genesis of Christian theology as a subject of thought. All through the controversy St. Paul is forced to defend his own apostleship and authority. Then he has to defend what he calls his gospel. This, in distinction from that of the Judaisers, is negatively a repudiation of the law as, first, not of any service to Gentiles, and further, as abolished altogether even for Jews who become Christians. Then positively his gospel is developed as the good news of the gift of eternal life in Jesus Christ, and forensically regarded as announcing God's gift of righteousness in Christ received by us through faith. St. Paul paints sin in the darkest colours. Its consequence is death. All mankind are sinners, under the wrath of God. When explaining the relation of Christ to the gospel St. Paul teaches His Divinity—He is God's Son and the fountain of grace; and also His humanity—He was born of a woman. The cross is most significant with St. Paul. It is not only that Jesus is Christ in spite of being crucified, nor that the crucifixion was foreordained in the mysterious purposes of God, but it took a great part in our redemption. Christ died on our behalf (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν), and because of our sins. He was treated as a sinner ("made sin") for us that we might have God's righteousness. The resurrection completed Christ's work and established our justification. By faith this is ours. Our faith unites us to Christ, so that we die with Him, rise with Him, live in Him. This is the mystical part of St. Paul's teaching that becomes more apparent in the third group. Thus united with Christ we become God's sons by adoption, and joint heirs with Christ.

The consequence is the firstfruits of the Spirit, from which come the insight of spiritual discernment, purifying and consecrating grace, and specific gifts (*charismata*). Thus privileged, the Christian is under the highest obligation to live a holy life, cultivating above all else the grace of love. Brotherly love between Christians is especially to be cherished, and each member of the Church to take his right place according to his gift in ministering to the good of the whole body. At the same time duties to the outer world are to be carefully observed. Christians live in expectation of the return of Christ to judge the world and establish His kingdom. Then the dead in Christ shall live again, and share in the blessed future.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES: THIRD GROUP

The Epistles Written in Prison

The place and time of imprisonment.
1. Colossians.
2. Philemon.
3. Ephesians.
4. Philippians.
5. Characteristics of the Group.

Another interval of some years (probably four) separates the epistles of the third group from those of the preceding period. The four epistles of this group were all written during St. Paul's imprisonment. In Colossians he refers to the mysteries of the Christ, "for which also," he adds, "I am also in bonds" (δέδεμαι, iv. 3), and he pathetically exclaims, "Remember my bonds." (verse 18.) In Philemon he writes as "Paul a prisoner of Christ Jesus" (1), "now a prisoner also of Jesus Christ" (9), while Onesimus is his child "begotten in the bonds," who could minister to him "in the bonds of the gospel." (13.) In Ephesians he is "the prisoner of Christ Jesus" (iii. 1), and "the prisoner in the Lord." (iv. 1.) In Philippians he refers four times to "my bonds." (i. 7, 13, 14, 17.) It is impossible to assign these epistles to any imprisonment earlier than that which followed the apostle's arrest in Jerusalem (A.D. 58; Acts xxi. 33), after which he was detained by Felix for two years at Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 27), and then sent to Rome, on his appeal to Cæsar, where he was two years in his own hired house before his trial. (Acts xxviii. 30.) But it is a question whether the letters were written from Cæsarea or from Rome. The probability, however, is in favour of Rome, where St. Paul had

more liberty of action and intercourse, and towards the end of the imprisonment, *i.e.*, about A.D. 62.

Some who admit that three of these epistles were written from Rome, detach Philippians, which they assign to Cæsarea, while others reverse this position. In favour of Cæsarea as the place of writing one or more of these epistles, are the following arguments:—(1) *For Philippians* in particular that the mention of the "prætorium" (Philippians i. 13) is explained by the fact that according to Acts xxiii. 35, St. Paul was confined in Herod's "prætorium" at Cæsarea. But the expression may well refer to the "prætorian guard" at Rome, in charge of which the apostle was placed. On the other hand, "Cæsar's household" (Philippians iv. 22) plainly points to Rome. So does St. Paul's allusion to the progress of his work (i. 12 ff.), since he found new ground for evangelising at Rome, while Cæsarea was already a familiar centre of apostolic labours; and the freedom for this work was found at Rome while the apostle was in his own house, as it was not found at Cæsarea, where he was kept in a dungeon, though kindly treated.[1]

(2) *For the other epistles.*—In Philippians ii. 24 St. Paul intends to proceed from Rome to Macedonia, whereas when he wrote Philemon 22 he wished to go straight to Colossæ. Further, his request for a lodging to be prepared there implies his expectation of speedy release, which he could not cherish at Rome.[2] But Philemon went with Colossians, and Ephesians must have been written about the same time. Therefore, it is argued, all three must be assigned to Cæsarea. On the other hand it must be allowed that St. Paul could change his intended route; and the request for a lodging might be a playful hint of his urgent desire to come to Colossæ. But it is pointed out that Tacitus describes the destruction of Colossæ in A.D. 60,[3] and yet St. Paul makes no reference to the fact. Therefore, it is argued, he must have written before that date. But Lightfoot shows that Eusebius, who mentions that the three cities of Asia, Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ, were destroyed by earthquake four years later, is especially accurate in his dates of earthquakes,[4] and Tacitus has been proved to be wrong in the case of another earthquake.[5] The comparative freedom of the apostle's life at Rome is the convincing reason for assigning the origin of all four epistles to that city. Resemblances to the pastoral epistles also make for Ephesians and Colossians being late. Philippians i. 24–26 shows that St. Paul expects an acquittal, and therefore the attitude of this epistle is not so different from that of Philemon, with its expectation of being soon able to visit Colossæ.

1. Colossians.

a. *The City and the Church.*—Colossæ was a Phrygian city in the Roman province of Asia, one of the three cities of the

[1] See LIGHTFOOT, *Phil.*, p. 29.

[2] See WEISS, *Introd. to the N.T.*, Eng. trans., vol. i. p. 327.

[3] *Ann.* xiv. 27.

[4] *Col.* (ed. 1875), pp. 37–40.

[5] SUETONIUS, *Nero*, 160, 172. Cited in HORT, *Rom. and Eph.*, p. 106.

Lycus Valley. The Lycus is a tributary of the Mæander, and two of the cities, large, important places, Laodicea and Hierapolis, faced one another on opposite sides of the stream, while Colossæ was an insignificant town—much the smallest town to which the apostle addressed any of his extant letters—twelve miles further up, and therefore more in the heart of Phrygia. The church at Colossæ had not been founded by St. Paul, and he had never visited it when he wrote his epistle. The narrative of Acts does not bring the apostle through the Lycus Valley, and in the epistle he only writes of *hearing* of the faith and love of the Colossians (Colossians i. 4), refers gratefully to the day when the first news of their reception of the gospel had reached him (verse 9), and describes the Colossians as people who had not seen his face in the flesh. (ii. 1.) And yet the church was in an especial way under his charge, for it had been founded by Epaphras, the evangelist whom St. Paul had directly commissioned to visit the district where it was situated. (7, 8.)

b. *Genuineness of the Epistle.*—This epistle is well attested by external evidence, being mentioned by Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, at the end of the second century, probably cited by Justin Martyr in the middle of the century, and included in Marcion's canon still earlier. It is essentially Pauline in doctrine, and its profound spiritual character makes for the honesty of its claim. Dr. Lightfoot has shown that there is nothing in its teaching that betrays second century ideas or conflicts with the period of St. Paul's lifetime.[1] Although its genuineness is not so almost universally admitted as that of the epistles of the second group, it is accepted by critics who reject Ephesians, and opinion is growing in favour of its being an original work of St. Paul's.[2]

[1] See LIGHTFOOT, *Col.*, Introd. ii., The Colossian Heresy.

[2] Hilgenfeld followed Baur in rejecting it; Pfleiderer allowed there were fragments of St. Paul's writings in it. Later it has been vindicated by Von Soden, Jülicher, Zahn, and Sanday. It is generally accepted by English and American scholars, Lightfoot, T. K. Abbott, Peake, Bacon, etc.

For external evidence compare Barnabas xii. 7 (τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν) with Colossians i. 16. Justin Martyr repeatedly reminds us of a striking phrase of the epistle, τὸν πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων, *Tryph.*, 84; πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, *Tryph.*, 85; πρωτότοκον μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων, *Tryph.*, 100, suggesting an allusion to Colossians i. 15 ("the firstborn of all creation," πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως). This is the more striking, because Philo, with whom Justin seems to be acquainted, never has this phrase, but uses πρωτόγονος (*De Agric.*, 12; *De Somn.*, i. 37). Compare also Tatian (Justin's disciple), *Orat. ad Graec.*, 5. The epistle is in the Syriac and Old Latin versions, and is recognised in the *Muratorian Fragment.* Moreover, Colossians is indirectly attested by Philemon. The two epistles are closely associated, and there is strong reason for accepting Philemon.

The objections are wholly on internal grounds: (1) The heresy opposed has been regarded as some form of second century gnosticism; but Dr. Lightfoot showed that this contained none of the later gnostic peculiarities, and was more likely to be a Jewish speculation. (2) The doctrine of Christ is more advanced than in St. Paul's recognised epistles. Christ here appears as the centre of the universe. All things have been created not only through Him (δι' αὐτοῦ), but also "unto Him" (εἰς αὐτόν, i. 16). Elsewhere this is said of God the Father in distinction from Jesus Christ (*e.g.*, Romans xi. 36; 1 Corinthians viii. 6.) This led Von Soden to regard the passage as an interpolation. But may we not take it as an advance in the development of St. Paul's Christology? (3) The style is regarded as un-Pauline. The old vehemence disappears, and we have long, cumbrous sentences in place of the short, abrupt utterances of the earlier epistles. In reply it may be said that St. Paul is mellowed and calmed with age and subdued by his long confinement, and that the controversies which engaged him earlier have passed away. (4) The vocabulary of these epistles contains many words not found hitherto in St. Paul's epistles. This difficulty is partly met in two ways: *First*, the residence at Rome would bring the apostle into fresh associations, and the imprisonment give him leisure for reading and thus enlarging his knowledge of Greek words. *Second*, the subjects treated—in particular the Colossian heresy—by introducing a new series of ideas, would stimulate a corresponding fresh

ness of language. And yet it must be confessed that these answers do not entirely remove the difficulty. Perhaps we should accept the suggestion that Timothy, as St. Paul's amanuensis, was allowed more liberty in the case of this epistle, so that the association of his name with the apostle's in the opening sentence was not merely nominal.[1] These difficulties do not destroy the strong evidence for the genuineness of the epistle. It is highly improbable that a work so profound in its spiritual thought as Colossians should have been falsely ascribed to St. Paul. The character of the epistle and the greatness of its thought make for its genuineness.

c. *Occasion of Writing, etc.*—As St. Paul was writing to Philemon on a personal matter, he would be led to think of sending a letter to the church in the city where his friend lived. Epaphras, the founder of the church at Colossæ, who was now with the apostle at Rome (iv. 12), may have brought information about the disturbing teachers which would have prompted St. Paul to counteract their errors. The letter is to be conveyed by Tychichus, who is to give personal information concerning the apostle's affairs (iv. 7), which perhaps it would not have been safe to have committed to writing.

d. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation from Paul and Timothy.

[1] Thirty-four words are found nowhere else in the N.T., viz., *ἀθυμεῖν*, *αἰσχρολογία*, *ἀνεψιός*, *ἀνταναπληροῦν*, *ἀνταπόδοσις*, *ἀπεκδύεσθαι*, *ἀπέκδυσις*, *ἀπόχρησις*, *ἀρεσκεία*, *ἀφειδία*, *βραβεύειν*, *δογματίζεσθαι*, *δυναμοῦν* (but Ephesians vi. 10 has *ἐδυναμοῦσθε*), *ἐθελοθρησκεία*, *εἰρηνοποιεῖν*, *ἐμβατεύειν*, *εὐχάριστος*, *θεότης*, *καταβραβεύειν*, *μετακινεῖν*, *μομφή*, *νουμηνία*, *ὀρατός*, *παρηγορία*, *πιθανολογία*, *πλησμονή*, *προακούειν*, *προσηλοῦν*, *πρωτεύειν*, *στερέωμαι*, *συλαγωγεῖν*, *σωματικῶς*, *φιλοσοφία*, *χειρόγραφον*. Twelve occur in other N.T. writers, but not elsewhere in St. Paul, viz., *ἄλας*, *ἀποκρίνεσθαι*, *ἀπόκρυφος*, *ἀρτύειν*, *γεύεσθαι*, *δειγματίζειν*, *ἐξαλείφειν*, *παραλογίζεσθαι*, *πικραίνειν*, *πόνος*, *σκιά*, *σύνδουλος*, and three in the pastoral epistles, viz., *ἀποκεῖσθαι*, *κρύπτειν*, *πλουσίως*. On the other hand this epistle contains eleven Pauline words used by no other N.T. writer, viz., *ἀπεῖναι*, *ἑδραῖος*, *εἰκῇ* (?), *ἐρεθίζειν*, *θριαμβεύειν*, *ἱκανοῦν*, *ἰσότης*, *πάθος*, *συναιχμάλωτος*, *συνθάπτειν*, *φυσιοῦν*—an important make-weight in favour of genuineness. See ABBOTT, *Ephesians and Colossians*, pp. lix, lx.

3–8, Thanksgiving for the gospel reaching Colossæ by means of Epaphras, and for its fruit there and elsewhere.

9–19, All things summed up in Christ, through whom and for whom the universe was created, and in whom it consists.

20–23, Reconciliation through Christ, and His death.

24–29, The apostle's work in proclaiming the mystery of the gospel, which is Christ as the hope of glory for the Gentiles.

ii. 1–5, His prayer for the Colossians that they may be knit together in love, and may attain to the knowledge of God in Christ.

6–15, Exhortations, especially against the delusion of a false philosophy, appealing to the new life of those who, buried with Christ in baptism, are also raised with Him.

16–23, Warnings against the bondage of external ordinances.

iii. 1–4, Practical appeal to seek the heavenly things in accordance with the experience of being risen with Christ.

5–11, Warnings against sensuality, malice, and other vices of the old life.

12–17, Encouragements to live the Christian life, and attain to its graces.

iii. 18–iv. 1, Domestic duties—wives and husbands, children and parents, servants and masters.

iv. 2–6, Exhortations to prayer, and wisdom and grace of speech.

7–9, Concerning Tychicus the messenger and Onesimus the beloved brother.

10–14, Salutations from the apostle's companions.

15, 16, Messages concerning Laodicea, and an exchange of epistles.

17, A message to Archippus to take heed to his ministry (or deaconship).

18, Final salutation in the apostle's own handwriting.

The Colossian Heresy.—It is evident that in this epistle St. Paul is contending against some false teaching which was put forth as a philosophy, *i.e.*, as a rule of life. This was Jewish, in the observance

of Sabbaths and new moons, and making distinctions in food (ii. 16–23); and also gnostic, claiming a peculiar intellectuality, indulging in speculative tenets concerning cosmogony, and thus associating the construction and administration of the universe with a series of heavenly beings. Hilgenfeld took these two elements to belong to different parties, but Lightfoot showed that Jewish speculations and practices, having an essential affinity of type with those of the Essenes, would account for what St. Paul refers to. The Essenes were more rigorous than the Pharisees in Sabbath-keeping, and were ascetic in practice, refusing flesh and wine, and not marrying. Philo denies that they were given to "abstract philosophy," and it is difficult to suppose that these people who devoted themselves to agriculture in Judæa, and of whom we never read elsewhere, could have had much influence in Phrygia. Still there is reason to think that allied tendencies were found in Asia Minor. Essenism owed much of its peculiarity to Oriental influences which were more powerful in Asia Minor than where it arose. There is no reason to suppose that the special ideas of gnosticism sprang from Christian sources. They were Greek and Oriental—partly Persian, perhaps Buddhist, and in some degree to be traced back to Babylonian astrology. These ideas were early grafted on to Judaism; the *Kabbala* is one of the fruits of this union. In the second century they blossomed into great systems of thought in combination with Christianity. In Colossians we see them pressing into the Church through their earlier alliance with Judaism. The Colossian heresy in particular dishonoured Christ practically by bringing in angels for worship, and speculatively by dividing the functions of creation, etc. among these beings. All that was here affirmed of the angels St. Paul claims for Christ, who is supreme in the universe.[1]

2. Philemon.

This beautiful little letter bespeaks its own genuineness beyond question. It is wholly personal in character and aim, and there is nothing about it to suggest a writer with doctrinal and other objects sheltering under St. Paul's name.

Philemon is in Marcion's and the Muratorian Canons, and in the Syriac and Old Latin versions. It is not cited by Irenæus or Clement A., but its brevity and personal character will account for that. Tertullian and Origen refer to it.

a. *Occasion and Circumstances of Origin.*—Onesimus, a slave of Philemon's, having stolen some of his master's property, had fled to Rome, where he had come under the influence of St. Paul; and this had led to his conversion. St. Paul, in sending him back, writes to beseech Philemon to pardon the defaulter, and receive him as no longer merely a slave, but a brother beloved. The mention of Archippus

[1] See LIGHTFOOT, *Colossians and Philemon*, "The Colossian Heresy."

here (2) and in Colossians iv. 17 fixes Colossæ as the place at which Philemon lived. Then the reference to Onesimus in Colossians iv. 9, as about to go to Colossæ, further associates the two epistles. Demas and Luke also send salutations in both letters. It is evident that this little letter accompanied Colossians, Tychicus probably taking both; or possibly Onesimus, who travelled with him, took the letter, which was for his own benefit.

b. *Contents.*

i. 1–3, Salutation from Paul and Timothy to Philemon, and Apphia (? his wife), to Archippus and the church in Philemon's house.

4–7, Thanksgiving for Philemon's love and faith.

8–21, A pathetic plea for the pardon of Onesimus, who is now a brother beloved and the apostle's spiritual son begotten in his bonds. Paul will make himself responsible for what was stolen.

22, A lodging to be prepared.

23, 24, Concluding salutations.

25, Benediction.

3. **Ephesians.**

a. *Destination of the Letter.*—There are strong reasons for believing that this letter was not written to the church at Ephesus. The title represents an ancient tradition, but it is not itself authoritative, as in no cases were the titles of the epistles in the original documents. The address "to the saints which are *at Ephesus*" (i. 1), which is found in our N.T., has not the support of the two best MSS. ℵ and B, which omit the words "in Ephesus" (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ). These words are also missing in a late cursive MS. (67), as corrected by a second hand. A more ancient testimony is that of Origen, early in the third century, who writes in a way that implies the absence of these two words.[1] Still earlier, in the first half of the second century, Marcion accepted the epistle, but under the title,

[1] The passage in Origen taken from CRAMER'S *Catena*, p. 102, is cited in HORT'S *Rom. and Eph.*, page 76, footnote.

"To the Laodiceans." He could hardly have done so if the words "in Ephesus" had been in his text. Besides, Tertullian would have accused him of falsifying the words of the apostle here. As he does not, we may conclude that Tertullian also knew of MSS. from which the words were omitted.[1] The uncertainty which is thus suggested is met by a decided argument against the Ephesian destination of the epistle from the tenor of its contents. Ephesus was one of the chief centres of St. Paul's labours. He had resided and worked in the city for more than two years. (Acts xix. 10.) There is no more touching scene in the history of the early church than his interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus. (xx. 17–38.) One of the Ephesians accompanied him to Jerusalem. (xxi. 29.) Here then was a church of his most intimate friends. But the epistle does not contain a word of individual salutation. No name is mentioned among the people to whom he is writing, although several persons are named in the companion epistle to the Colossians, a people whom confessedly the apostle had never seen.[2] Therefore we may confidently conclude that this epistle could not have been addressed to St. Paul's friends at Ephesus. We are tempted to imagine that Marcion was right, and that it was addressed to Laodicea, one of the three cities of the Lycus Valley, which, in common with Colossæ and Hierapolis, the apostle had never visited, and the reference to the exchange of epistles in Colossians iv. 16 would seem to fall in with that idea. And yet the phrase there is not "the epistle *to* Laodicea," but "the epistle *from* (ἐκ) Laodicea," which rather points to one that was to be passed on through that city. The general character of our epistle favours the opinion that it was a circular letter for the churches of this neighbourhood.

We still have to account for the singular condition of the text in the MSS. above referred to, where we read τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν [omitting ἐν Ἐφέσῳ] καὶ πιστοῖς. One view is to render οὖσιν absolutely, with the

[1] See TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, v. 11, 17.

[2] The phrase, "If so be that ye heard (εἴγε ἠκούσατε, iii. 2), though not expressing a doubt, could not be used in a case of absolute certainty, such as that of a church St. Paul had himself taught.

meaning, "the saints who truly exist—as such, etc." But this is a forced and unnatural interpretation. Another view favoured by Hort is "the saints who are also faithful." Against this is the application of this same participle of the verb εἰμί in other epistles, where it directs attention to the place.[1] Possibly a blank was left for the name of the church to be filled in. This might be done in writing if several copies had been written off; but the notion is too modern. Besides, it excludes the idea, otherwise probable enough, that Ephesians may be the epistle which was to come on *from* Laodicea. A simpler method would be to send a single copy without any name, leaving the name of each church receiving the epistle to be supplied by the reader. Ephesus, being the metropolis of the province, would naturally receive it in the end, and then nothing would be more natural than for somebody to fill in the gap with the name of the city where the epistle was subsequently found.

b. *Genuineness.*—The external evidence for this epistle is stronger than that for Colossians. It seems to have been known to Clement R. as early as A.D. 95. Evidently it was quoted by Ignatius early in the second century, and by Polycarp, and it was accepted by Marcion before A.D. 140.

Compare 1 Clem. xlvi. 5, "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ," with Ephesians iv. 4; Ignatius, *Magnes.* vii. 1 with Ephesians iv. 3–6; *Phil.* ii. 1 with Ephesians v. 8; *Ad Polyc.* v. 1 with Ephesians v. 25, 29; Polycarp, *Phil.* i. 3 with Ephesians ii. 8, 9; and possibly *Ibid.* xii. 1, where "Irascimini, et nolite peccare" is quoted as scripture (*ut in his scripturis dictum est*), with Ephesians iv. 26. But we only have this last quotation in a Latin translation; possibly in both cases it is taken from some *Logia* of Jesus Christ; or it may be an allusion to Psalm iv. 4, LXX. The epistle is in Marcion's and the Muratorian Canons, and in the Old Latin and Syriac versions. It is first named as St. Paul's by Irenæus. (*Adv. Haer.*, v. 2. 3.)

Moreover it shares with Colossians the general Pauline standpoint, and is rich in vital spiritual thought, one of the gems of Scripture. It is hard to doubt the genuineness of a work of such paramount worth.

Nevertheless it is more questioned than Colossians.[2] The objections are largely the same as those urged against Colossians. We have the advanced Christology, though not so pronounced with regard to the universe and creation

[1] τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ (Rom. i. 7), τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ (1 Cor. i. 2), τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις (Phil. i. 1).

[2] Von Soden, for instance, who defends Colossians, ascribing Ephesians to a large-minded Jewish Christian of the dispersion.

as in Colossians, the same style of long sentences, the same phenomena of un-Pauline words.

There are thirty-two words used only in this epistle, and twenty-eight found elsewhere in the N.T., but not in Paul. On the other hand there are eighteen words found in Pauline epistles, but not elsewhere in the N.T., and several of the *hapax legomena* are in the list of the Christian armour, and therefore quite naturally accounted for, being inevitable when once the idea of elaborating the image was entertained.

But in addition to these objections, which may be met as were the similar objections to Colossians, certain special objections are urged against Ephesians: (1) Whereas previously St. Paul championed the Gentiles against the Jews, here writing to Gentiles he seems to champion the Jewish Christians. That, however, might be the case in this later period when liberty was secure, and among churches chiefly Gentile. Moreover the idea appears in Romans xi. 13–24. (2) The expression, "the devil," occurs twice (iv. 27; vi. 11). But elsewhere St. Paul always has "Satan." It may be replied that elsewhere in the N.T. the names are interchangeable. Writing later at Rome St. Paul might prefer the Greek term. (3) The phrase, "holy apostles" (iii. 5), is objected to as more like a formula of later ecclesiastical usage. But we must remember that the word rendered "holy" (ἁγίοις) is the common title of all Christians, and points to consecration rather than to personal holiness. It occurs a little later, where St. Paul describes himself as "less than the least of all saints" (ἁγίων, iii. 8). (4) The most singular phenomena in connection with the epistle is its close resemblance to Colossians. Out of 155 verses no less than 78 have expressions identical with phrases in that epistle. Hence it has been inferred that this is founded on Colossians, of which some have regarded it as a "weak" expansion. As to whether it is "weak," that is a matter of taste. The similarity of phrase is too close to be accidental. But if the apostle wrote the two epistles at the same time, it would be perfectly natural that he would say the same things in both. The situation was so far similar, that both epistles went to people whom the apostle had not seen. Both were

sent by Tychicus. (Colossians iv. 7, 8; Ephesians vi. 21, 22.) Then as Ephesians seems to be a circular letter, it might be less crisp than one written with a more definite conception of the persons to whom it was to be sent.[1]

c. *Occasion and Time of Writing.*—Probably Epaphras in bringing news from Colossæ had reported on the condition of the neighbouring churches, and then Tychicus, who was to take a letter to Colossæ, would be able to carry one for the other churches also. In particular the spread of Jewish gnostic speculations derogatory to the supremacy of Christ and His sole authority in the Church would call for a statement of the truth concerning this subject. As the two epistles appear to have been written about the same time, it is of little consequence to inquire which was produced first. Still the larger expansion of the common ideas which we find in Ephesians may perhaps indicate that this was written after its companion.

d. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation from Paul only.

3–14, Thanksgiving, leading to exposition of the idea of God's purpose in adopting us as sons chosen by the Father; redeemed by the Son, in whom all things in heaven and earth are to be summed up; and sealed by the Spirit.

15–23, Prayer that the readers may appreciate their privileges in Christ, who was raised from the dead, and is exalted above the highest powers and authorities.

ii. 1–10, Their new state in grace.

11–22, The reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles in Christ.

iii. 1–13, The revelation of the gospel for the Gentiles made through Paul.

14–19, Prayer for spiritual progress in knowing the love of Christ.

20, 21, Doxology.

iv. 1–16, Unity in the body, with diversity of offices.

[1] Holtzmann supposes there was a Pauline nucleus, which a subsequent writer enlarged into two epistles, an elaborate theory which seems to be adopted as a counsel of despair. Bacon holds it to be genuine.

17–24, Warnings against heathen vices.

25–32, Practical advice, especially as regards duty to our neighbour.

v. 1–14, To walk in love, and avoid immorality and covetousness.

15–21, Care in conduct to avoid offence; praise and song.

22–33, The union of husbands and wives like that of Christ and His Church.

vi. 1–4, Duties of children and parents.

5–9, Duties of servants and masters.

10–20, Exhortation to strength and courage; the whole armour of God.

21, 22, Personal news by Tychicus.

23, 24, Benediction.

Two specific ideas of great importance are found in this epistle:

(1) *The Supremacy of Christ.*—This corresponds to similar teaching in Colossians. Here, as in the companion epistle, Christ is exalted above all things not only in the sphere of the gospel, but also in the universe, heavenly as well as earthly. But in this epistle the supremacy of Christ over His Church is especially emphasised.

(2) *The Unity of the Church.*—In earlier epistles St. Paul often refers to individual local churches, and in writing about the duties of their members he dwells on the importance of harmony in co-operation. But here he rises to the conception of a universal Church of which Christ is the head, and he insists on its essential unity realised through the common faith and experience of all Christians.

4. **Philippians.**

a. *The Church at Philippi.*—Philippi was a Roman colony in Macedonia, and the church in this city was the first planted by St. Paul in Europe. The vision of the "man of Macedonia"—whom Professor Ramsay identifies with St. Luke—had induced the apostle to cross from Troas to the port of Neapolis, whence he went at once over the hills to the

beautiful plain where Philippi stood on a promontory. There was no synagogue at this place, but St. Paul discovered a *Proseuchè*, an enclosure for worship, in the suburbs, apparently near the stream Gangites. His teaching won Lydia, who represented a dyeing business at Thyatira, and she received the apostle and his companions into her house. A small church was formed, at first consisting principally of women. It was most devoted to St. Paul, and it helped to support him with its gifts during subsequent missionary journeys. The troubles which disturbed other churches were scarcely known here. No disloyalty to the apostle appeared among these enthusiastic followers as at Corinth and in Galatia, no erroneous doctrine as in the churches of the Lycus Valley. A little personal difference between two active women in the church is all the epistle has to allude to as not quite satisfactory. (Phil. iv. 2.)

b. *Genuineness of the Epistle.*—The difficulties that have been felt with regard to Colossians and Ephesians are scarcely met with in Philippians, and as the evidence from antiquity and the character of the epistle itself strongly support St. Paul's authorship, it is very generally received even by critics who reject the other epistles of the imprisonment period. It seems evident that this epistle was known and cited authoritatively early in the second century; it fits well into the circumstances of the apostle's life, and reveals his spirit and character more distinctly than almost any other of his writings.

Hippolytus refers to an interpretation of the phrase, "in the form of a servant" (Phil. ii. 7), by a very primitive Ophite sect, the Sethites (*Ref. Haer.*, v. 8). Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, refers to the letter they had received from "the blessed and glorious Paul." (Pol. *Phil.*, iii. 1.) Ignatius appears to refer to phrases from this epistle (*Rom.*, ii. 2; *Philad.*, viii. 2), as does the *Epistle to Diognetus* (5). It is cited in the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne (Euseb., *H.E.*, v. 3). It is in Marcion's collection, the Muratorian Canon, the Syriac and Old Latin versions. Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.*, iv. 18. 4), Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.*, i. 6; *Strom.*, iv. 13), and Tertullian (*De Resur.*, 23, 47; *C. Marc.*, v. 20; *De Praescr.*, 26), cite it as St. Paul's.[1]

[1] The epistle was rejected by Baur, Schwegler, etc. More recently its genuineness has been attacked by Hitzig, Kreucker, Hinsch, Hoekstra, Biederman, and especially by Holsten. But it is accepted and defended by Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, Harnack, Mangold, Pfleiderer, Lipsius, Godet, B. Weiss, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Klöpper, Zahn, H. A. A. Kennedy, Bacon—names which represent very diverse schools, and some of them extreme critical positions.

The following objections have been brought forward:—(1) *The separation of the Divine pre-existence of Christ from His humanity* (ii. 6-11) as un-Pauline, since here the humanity begins at the Incarnation, while in 1 Corinthians xv. 47–49, it is pre-existent as ἄνθρωπος ἐπουράνιος. But the ἐπουράνιος does not refer to pre-existence; it refers to the Resurrection. (2) *Un-Pauline justification*, where the apostle appears as blameless with regard to the law (iii. 4–11). But that was external; Romans vii., etc., refer to his internal life. (3) *Indifference to the objective truths of the gospel* (i. 15–18).—The parties preaching another Jesus, and anathematised in Galatians i. 6–9 and 2 Corinthians xi. 4 are said to be here allowed. But they are not the same. (4) *Uncertainty concerning the Resurrection* (iii. 11). This may be denied. (5) *Differences of style.* These are far less than in Colossians and Ephesians. Other objections are still less important.[1]

c. *Occasion for Writing the Epistle.*—Epaphroditus had brought a contribution of money from the Philippian church (ii. 25, iv. 18). Either owing to the hardships of the journey, or his exertions on behalf of the apostle in Rome, he had been dangerously ill. He feared the Philippians would be anxious about him, and he was eager to return home (ii. 26). St. Paul sends this letter with him containing thanks for the gift (iv. 10–18). At the same time the apostle takes the opportunity to give an account of his own condition, and of the success of his work in Rome, and to flood his letter with thoughts of encouragement and admonitions for his beloved friends at Philippi.

d. *Date.*—There is considerable uncertainty as to the exact date of this epistle and its position relative to the other epistles of the imprisonment. Lightfoot puts it first in the group, and in this he is followed by Hort. The principal reason for its priority is the position it seems to take in the order of the development of St. Paul's thought and style. It has more of the simple, vigorous style of the earlier epistles, and many phrases remind us of Romans. On the other hand we miss the speculative elements of Colossians and Ephesians, and the long sentences and cumbrous style of those epistles. Therefore Lightfoot places it next to Romans, though with the requisite interval of time, as he assigns it to Rome. But this very interval tends to destroy the weight of his argu-

[1] See VINCENT, *Internat. Crit. Com.*, *Phil. and Phile.*, pp. xxv.–xxx.

ment. Some four years must be allowed between Romans and Philippians, even if Philippians is the first letter of the imprisonment, and at most two or three years separate this from Colossians and Ephesians. Most critics place it last in the group.

The following reasons make for the later date :—(1) It would seem that the apostle has already been in prison for a long time. He has been able to make Christ known through the whole prætorian guard (i. 12–14). (2) Friends who had been with him when he wrote the other epistles have now left him (ii. 20). St. Luke had accompanied him to Rome. (Acts xxviii. 16, "*we* entered into Rome.") He was with the apostle when Colossians was written, and sent a salutation to that city. (Colossians iv. 14.) There is no salutation from him to the Philippians, among whom he was well known. (Acts xvi. 11 ff.) Nor does Demas appear as in Colossians iv. 14. (3) Some time is required for the journeys between Rome and Philippi, implied by the letter. (4) Greater severity of treatment is apparent. St. Paul had enjoyed comparative liberty; now he is hardly dealt with. (5) It would seem that the apostle's case has reached a crisis. He proposes to send Timothy shortly, as soon as he knows what the decision is to be (ii. 23). He is ready for death if that should be the issue, and even desirous of it on his own account (i. 23). But he expects to be set free (i. 25; ii. 24). Whatever might be the result, it would not be to leave him still in prison, as Colossians and Ephesians and Philemon allow. Therefore those epistles must precede Philippians.[1]

e. *Integrity.*—It has been suggested that we have two writings of the apostle run together, because half-way through our epistle we find St. Paul drawing to a close with the formula, "Finally, my brethren," etc. (iii. 1). But (1) the apostle might have intended to close here, and then fresh ideas have started him on a fresh course. He often writes without any evident scheme, spontaneously, setting down his thoughts as they occur. (2) Possibly, however, we should not translate the Greek phrase (τὸ λοιπόν) as "finally," but understand it as meaning "for the rest," as dismissing one topic, and proceeding to others. So it may have been used elsewhere (*e.g.*, 2 Thessalonians iii. 1). The tone and character of the epistle are remarkably harmonious throughout, and testify to its being a single work.

[1] For arguments in favour of the earlier date see LIGHTFOOT, *Phil.*, Essay II., "The order of the Epistles of the Captivity." In ZAHN'S *Einleitung* the arguments for the later date are maintained.

f. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutations from Paul and Timothy to the Christians at Philippi (as usual, denominated "Saints," ἅγιοι) together with the bishops and deacons.

This is the first mention of "bishops" and "deacons" in St. Paul's epistles, and the first mention of them in N.T. history.[1] We do not meet with the titles in any other place in his writings till we come to the pastoral epistles, where their qualifications are discussed. Here they are only named. In earlier epistles we have had vague allusions to church officers (*e.g.*, 1 Thessalonians v. 12, 13) without any titles. Where official titles are referred to, they are different from these, *e.g.*, "apostles, prophets, teachers," etc. (1 Corinthians xii. 28); or gifts and corresponding functions rather than offices are named (*e.g.*, Romans xii. 6–8).

3–11, Thanksgiving for the kindness shown by the Philippians to the apostle, and prayer for a blessing on them.

12–26, Statements about his condition. The imprisonment has helped in furthering the gospel throughout the whole prætorian guard. The apostle expects a favourable issue to his trial. Yet he does not desire this on his own account, his life being devoted to Christ; and death would be gain to him.

27–30, Exhortation to fidelity and courage under persecution.

ii. 1–5, Affectionate entreaty to unselfish humility.

6–11, The example of Christ, who emptied Himself, became a man, and was obedient unto death, for which reason God has highly exalted Him.

12–18, Exhortation to Christian progress, since God works in us; and warning against disputes, that the apostle may not have laboured in vain.

19–30, Timothy to be sent; Epaphroditus, who had been very ill, now sent back.

iii. 1–6, Warning against Jewish influences, followed by

[1] Acts, though probably written later, refers to "elders" in an earlier period of the history as in Jerusalem (Acts xi. 30), and as even appointed by Paul and Barnabas during the "first missionary journey." (Acts xiv. 23.) That book does not name "deacons," though it describes the appointment of "the seven." (Acts vi. 1–6.) James, which may be the earliest epistle, mentions elders (v. 14). The title does not appear in Paul before the pastoral epistles.

an enumeration of St. Paul's own Jewish privileges and attainments.

7–11, What he had counted profitable in these things given up for the sake of Christ.

12–16, The apostle's eagerness to press forward to higher attainments.

17–iv. 1, Warning from the example of fallen brethren; a reminder of the heavenly citizenship and of the hope of the coming of Christ; a consequent exhortation to steadfastness.

iv. 2, 3, Messages urging harmony between Euodia and Syntyche, and suggesting encouragement from one addressed as "true yokefellow" for them and Clement.

4–7, Exhortations to rejoicing and prayer, with a benediction of peace.

8, 9, Topics worthy to be thought of; and the apostle's teaching to be followed.

10–20, Thanks for the gift brought by Epaphroditus, which is valued chiefly as a token of affection. The apostle has learnt to be independent of want or plenty.

21, 22, Final salutations.

23, Benediction.

5. **Characteristics of the Group.**

The ideas set forth in these epistles of the third group correspond to the changes that have taken place both in the apostle's environment and in the history of the churches. The sharp conflict with Judaising Christians that marked the second period of literary activity has subsided, and St. Paul has the satisfaction of seeing his larger gospel accepted in the churches under his charge. At the same time the personal opposition to the apostle which was one phase of that conflict has also disappeared. Accordingly he no longer needs to maintain his principles in the same polemical style, nor to assert his own apostolic claims as in the controversial epistles. But new troubles have emerged in the churches of Asia through the introduction of ascetic practices and specula-

tions of Jewish origin, but not associated with pharisaic legalism. To meet the practical tendencies the apostle denounces formal, superstitious restraints. But he has a greater aim in the more spiritual region. This is to set against the novel speculations a very exalted idea of the nature and work of Jesus Christ. Thus these epistles see a development of Christology. In Colossians we advance from the earlier association of Christ with the universe as the medium of creation to a fuller idea of His eternal connection with it in sustaining it, and see its end in Him. In Ephesians, while His relation to nature is also affirmed, we see His headship over the Church more developed, and the unity of the Church in Him affirmed and illustrated. Philippians is addressed to Christians in Macedonia, who were not affected by the movements of thought in the Lycus Valley. But still Christ is central in the epistle. Here we have the *locus classicus* for the doctrine of the *kenosis*, with its issue in the supreme exaltation of Christ who has received a name above every name, and to whom every knee shall bow, in heaven as well as on earth. In all these epistles the mystical union of the Christian with Christ becomes more prominent than the forensic relationship dwelt on in the epistles of the Judaistic controversy.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOURTH GROUP: THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

1. The question of genuineness.
2. 1 Timothy.
3. 2 Timothy.
4. Titus.

1. Genuineness.

These three epistles are so closely associated, and resemble one another in so many respects, that the question of their genuineness must be considered in a common study of them. In point of fact most critics either accept all of them or reject all of them.[1] Exception is taken to the epistles almost entirely on internal grounds, for they are well supported by the evidence of antiquity. Eusebius included them in the N.T. books that were universally accepted.[2] He therefore knew of no doubts in the Catholic Church. Then they are named by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, and as usual we find Irenæus the first to name them.[3] Even earlier than this, 1 and 2 Timothy are evidently quoted by Polycarp, though not named. They are also found in the Syriac and the Old Latin versions, and are acknowledged in the *Muratorian Fragment.*

Compare Polycarp, *Phil.* iv. 1 with 1 Tim. vi. 7, 10; *Phil.* xii. 3 with 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; *Phil.* v. 2 with 2 Tim. ii, 11, 12; *Phil.* ix. 2 with 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[1] Schleiermacher, with whom the scientific study of the pastoral epistles commenced, at first threw doubts on 1 Tim. by regarding it as a compilation from 2 Tim. and Tit., but it was soon seen that the three epistles stand or fall together; and Schleiermacher himself pointed out difficulties concerning 2 Tim. and Tit.

[2] *τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα.* See *H.E.*, ii. 22; iii. 3.

[3] Irenæus names the two to Timothy (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3. 3), and cites from Tit. as Paul's (*Adv. Haer.*, i. 16. 3; iii. 3. 4).

There is one important witness that must be cited on the other side. Marcion did not accept these epistles as St. Paul's. This fact should not be set aside so hastily as has been frequently done by apologists. Marcion's is the earliest extant canon of St. Paul's epistles. As a reformer, reviving neglected Pauline doctrine, this man made it his business to enforce what he conceived to be the teaching found in the apostle's writings. It is quite possible that it was Marcion who first made any collection of the scattered letters. On the other hand, it must be observed that he was possessed by a strong doctrinal bias. It was on doctrinal and not critical grounds that he rejected all the gospels except Luke, and mutilated that, and that he received no other part of the N.T. but St. Paul's epistles. Inasmuch as the pastoral epistles contain statements which Marcion would not agree with, it is quite possible that it was only on the ground of those statements that he rejected them.

E.g., the high value set on the O.T. (2 Tim. iii. 16), which Marcion rejected; opposition to docetism (1 Tim. ii. 5), which Marcion taught; also opposition to asceticism in "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God commanded to be received with thankfulness," etc. (1 Tim. iv. 3)—Marcionite precepts.

There is much in the epistles themselves that speaks for their genuineness. The spirit and power of the N.T. are here; we have not yet reached that inferior condition, that lack of verve and originality, which marks the writings known to be of the sub-apostolic age. They are Pauline in spirit too, and they contain graphic touches of a personal character, which some who have rejected the epistles in their completeness have allowed to be genuine fragments from writings of the apostle. Renan, who does not admit the authenticity of the epistles, accepts these fragments as historical data, with which to complete his story of St. Paul. Then the names of companions compare well with those of previous epistles. Some old names reappear; others are dropped out; and in place of them some new names appear. These are just such changes as might be expected in the course of a few years.

Nevertheless, there is a very widespread rejection of these epistles by various schools of criticism.

As stated above, Schleiermacher was the first to raise doubts on 1 Timothy. Eichhorn and de Wette followed, rejecting all three in their Introductions. The dispute first turned on the question whether the epistles were written by St. Paul himself, or by one of his disciples, perhaps St. Luke. A new position was taken by Baur, who held that these epistles were written about A.D. 150 to combat gnosticism, especially that of Marcion.[1] Baur's view somewhat modified was adopted by his followers, Schwegler and Hilgenfeld; Pfleiderer and Weizsäcker advocate the essential position, which is also admitted by Beyschlag, but the latter critics do not admit Baur's late date, and recede to the times of Trajan and Hadrian. Of course, this gives up the reference to Marcion, who is of later date. Holtzmann, who has shown that the great gnostic systems of the second century are not here referred to, still rejects the epistles, and so do Harnack and Jülicher. They are defended by Zahn and by most English writers on N.T. introduction, though rejected by Davidson. There is now a tendency to regard them as written in the sub-apostolic age, but embodying fragments of St. Paul's writings—a view advocated by Harnack, Bacon, etc.

The following difficulties and objections have been raised:—

a. *Historical Difficulties.*—No place for these epistles can be found in St. Paul's life, neither according to Acts, nor according to the other epistles. In 1 Timothy i. 3 we find the apostle had left Timothy at Ephesus when going himself to Macedonia. This could not be at the conclusion of his long residence at Ephesus, which terminated with the riot in the theatre, because then he sent Timothy into Macedonia first, and followed later. (Acts xix. 22; xx. 1.) It could not be previous to the period of residence, because at that early time the church would not have been so advanced as 1 Timothy suggests, and the errors described in the epistle would not have had time to creep in. This epistle clearly shows that the church at Ephesus had been in existence for some considerable time when it was written. Moreover St. Paul had exhorted Timothy to "tarry at Ephesus" (1 Timothy i. 3), and he expected to return to Timothy at Ephesus (iii. 14), though if he were delayed Timothy would understand the reason (iii. 15). But after St. Paul had gone to Macedonia from Ephesus, Timothy was with him (2 Corinthians i. 1), so he was in Greece

[1] Baur even took the *ἀντιθέσεις* of 1 Tim. vi. 20, to refer to Marcion's work, "Antitheses," and the *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* of 1 Tim. i. 7, and *μάχαι νομικαί* of Tit. iii. 9 to the Marcionites and their opposition to the O.T.

before the apostle could return to Asia. (Acts xx. 4.) We cannot place the journey referred to in 1 Timothy any time during the three years' stay at Ephesus, as a sort of flying visit to Macedonia, not noticed in Acts, because 1 Timothy implies a long absence, during which Timothy has to carry on a continuous work in correcting false doctrine, etc. Surely St. Paul would do this himself, if it were during the period of his residence at Ephesus. Similar difficulties apply to 2 Timothy. There we read, "Trophimus I left at Miletus sick" (iv. 20). This could not be on the journey to Jerusalem described in Acts xx. (see verse 17), because we find Trophimus with the apostle when he had reached that city. (Acts xxi. 29.) After this St. Paul was a prisoner. But we cannot think of some earlier journey, for the apostle writes as a prisoner at Rome (2 Timothy i. 17), and his language about Trophimus must refer to his last visit to Miletus. It is the same with other personal references, *e.g.*, "Erastus abode at Corinth" (iv. 20). When? He had not been to Corinth for some years before the journey to Rome recorded in Acts; two years had been spent at Cæsarea, and since his last visit to Corinth Timothy had been with him (Acts xx. 4); so that he would not need now to write to Timothy about what had happened then. "The cloke that I left at Troas," etc. (2 Timothy iv. 13)—this must be recent. Yet the only occasion Acts allows is seven or eight years before. (Acts xx. 5–7.) "I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus." (2 Timothy iv. 12.) This could not be the journey from Rome to take the Colossian and Ephesian Epistles because Timothy was then with the apostle. (Colossians i. 1.)

Difficulties also come out of the historical situation of the Epistle to Titus. There we see Titus left by St. Paul in Crete. (Titus i. 5.) He is to join the apostle in Nicopolis (iii. 12). Acts allows no opportunity for such movements. The condition of Crete and the reference to Apollos (iii. 13) put this later than St. Paul's stay at Corinth. (Acts xviii.) Yet a considerable time in Greece is here implied.

The only possible reconciliation is to place all three epistles later than the history in Acts. This is on the hypothesis that St. Paul was liberated after his trial, travelled as these epistles indicate, was again arrested, and again sent to Rome. Now there are several points in favour of this hypothesis. Professor Ramsay has pointed out that the attitude of the Roman government to St. Paul and the Christians and also the state of the law would have issued in an acquittal. St. Paul had appealed to Cæsar, knowing his innocence in regard to the law; and as yet the government had not gone against the Christians.[1] The apostle expected to gain his case, and be set free, as both Philippians[2] and Philemon[3] imply. Very different is his feeling when writing 2 Timothy. Then he is assured of approaching martyrdom.[4] Moreover there was an impression in the early church that the apostle was liberated, and subsequently imprisoned again when he suffered martyrdom at Rome.

Jerome is the first to assert this positively. Eusebius knows of the tradition, though with his usual accuracy he is cautious not to be too positive about it, writing, "he [St. Paul] is said to have departed again on the ministry of preaching." (*H.E.* ii. 22.) In the *Muratorian Fragment* St. Paul is said to have gone to Spain, which could only have been later than the history in Acts. Clement of Rome says that he went to "the boundary of the west,"[5] a phrase which written in Rome seems to point to Spain.

If we admit this hypothesis, all historical difficulties vanish. Everything referred to in the pastoral epistles could have occurred between the two imprisonments and during the second of them.

b. *Personal Difficulties.*—St. Paul seems to protest his apostleship in a manner that would be superfluous when

[1] *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 245 ff.; *St. Paul*, etc., p. 308.

[2] In Phil. ii. 19. He anticipates being saved, and attributes this prospect to his friends' prayers. Though ready to die, he knows he "shall abide" (i. 25). He trusts he will soon come to Philippi (ii. 24).

[3] Requesting Philemon to prepare him a lodging. (Phile. 22).

[4] He has "fought the good fight," and "finished the course." Henceforth there is laid up for him "the crown of righteousness." (2 Tim. iv. 8.)

[5] ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. Clem. R., 1 *Cor.* v. 7.

writing to such friends and personal followers as Timothy and Titus.[1] It may be replied that though addressed to these two, the epistles were not wholly personal in character, and were intended for public use, or at all events to be appealed to as authorities when necessary. Then the references to Timothy's "youth" (1 Timothy iv. 12; 2 Timothy ii. 22) seem strange after years of public service. First meeting St. Paul about A.D. 51 (Acts xvi. 1), he would have known him for some thirteen years if 1 Timothy were written some time after the two years in Rome—say about A.D. 64, and 2 Timothy is even later. Still he might be of a shrinking nature, and younger looking than his years, a fact perhaps humorously alluded to by the apostle. Besides, the master is apt to forget the growing age of his pupil.

c. *References to Heresies.*—It has been said that these epistles contain references to second century heresies, in particular to the gnosticism of Marcion. Some "gnosis falsely so called"[2] is in the writer's mind, and Timothy is warned to prevent the teaching of a "different doctrine" from "the gospel" dealing with "fables and endless genealogies" (1 Timothy i. 4). It has been suggested that the gnostic ideas of the evolution of creation are here referred to. But no such allusions can be proved. The heresy is plainly Jewish ascetic, possibly associated with Essene mysticism; and the genealogies are most naturally understood to be those found in Genesis interpreted allegorically.[3]

That the tendency is Jewish is shown by allusions to "teachers of the law" (1 Tim. i. 7), "circumcision" (Tit. i. 10), "Jewish fables"[4] (Tit. i. 14). At the same time it is ascetic, reminding us of the Essenes rather than of the Pharisees.[5]

[1] See 1 Tim. i. 1; 2 Tim. i. 1; Tit. i. 1, 2.

[2] *ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις*, 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[3] Philo applied the term "genealogies" to the first part of Genesis. Greek writers use it of early mythological history, *e.g.*, Polyb. ix. 2.

[4] Compare this with the "fables and endless genealogies" of 1 Tim. i. 4, which seem thus to be just the Jewish Haggada and fanciful speculations.

[5] See 1 Tim. iv. 3, 8; Tit. i. 14, 15. But Dr. Hort doubts whether there is any direct Essene influence. Still he regards the heresy as Jewish. *Judaistic Christianity*, chap. vii. Von Soden in the *Hand-Com.* denies

d. *Church Development.*—It is said that the conditions of church organisation apparent in these epistles point to a later historical period than that of St. Paul's lifetime. Titus was left in Crete to appoint elders in every city. (Titus i. 5.) The character of the bishop is discussed both with Timothy (1 Timothy iii. 1–7) and with Titus (Titus i. 6–9), and that of the deacon with Timothy. (1 Timothy iii. 8–13.) Now it cannot be denied that our attention is here given to church officers in a way we do not meet with earlier in St. Paul's epistles. But it must be observed that little is said about them beyond what concerns their characters. We are left in the dark as to their functions. Then if the elder is not identical with the bishop in every case, still the bishop appears as one of the elders.[1] In the case of the elders there is no sharp distinction between officers of the church and senior Christians,[2] and the widows are described immediately after a reference to the elders, indicating a certain indefiniteness and quite primitive character in the church relations of these people. There is no sign here of the monarchical episcopacy advocated by Ignatius early in the second century. Then, on the supposition of a second imprisonment these epistles come in any case some years later than any of the previous ones, the last of which refers to "bishops and deacons." (Philippians i. 1.) Besides, some churches might develop organisation more rapidly than others.

e. *Un-Pauline Features.*—We are struck with a certain harshness, as in the judgment of the Cretans (Titus i. 12, 13),

any reference to Montanist, Valentinian, or Marcionite ideas. Pfleiderer argues that the second century gnostic systems are referred to because Irenæus finds answers to them in the pastoral epistles. But have not church writers in all ages appealed to the N.T. for answers to their contemporary opponents? Weiss fully discusses and disposes of these references in the new edition of Meyer's *Com.*

[1] Timothy is to "appoint elders" of a certain character, "for the bishop must be blameless." (1 Tim. i. 5, 7.) Some have maintained that the word "bishop" is not official, and only means "he who has the oversight."

[2] *e.g.*, "Rebuke not an elder, but exhort him as a father; the younger men as brethren." (1 Tim. v. 1.)

and in the reference to Alexander the coppersmith. (2 Timothy iv. 14.) On the other hand the universality of grace is said to be un-Pauline. God is called "the Saviour of all men." (1 Timothy iv. 10.)[1] The phrase is peculiar, but the idea agrees with the evangelical temper of the apostle. Then the repeated references to "a faithful word," "a faithful saying," seem to refer to a later time when memories of past teachings were to be cherished. In one place we read what seems very like a confession of faith, consisting of several articles, and apparently introduced without its commencing words.[2] In another, a saying of Christ seems to be quoted as Scripture. But this is not certain.[3] It must be admitted that if the doctrinal statements are not beyond what might have come from St. Paul, still these latter points are not easily reconciled with so early a date as about A.D. 65.

f. *Un-Pauline Language and Style.*—This is the most serious difficulty of all. Not a few critics who have admitted possible replies to all the earlier objections have thought this last one insuperable. A great number of peculiar words and phrases unknown to earlier Pauline epistles appear in the pastoral epistles.

Some of these are not to be accounted for by novelty of topic. They represent a different—and a more classical—vocabulary. We also meet with favourite words and phrases in these epistles, specially characteristic of them, such as *εὐσέβεια*, *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, *ὑγιής* and *ὑγιαίνειν* with reference to correct teaching, *μύθοι*, *ζητήσεις*, *ἐπιφάνεια* for the Second Advent instead of *παρουσία*, *δεσπότης* instead of *κύριος*, *σωτήρ* applied to God, *ἀρνεῖσθαι*, *παραιτεῖσθαι*, *περιϊστάναι* to avoid, *προσέχειν* with the dative, *ὑπομιμνήσκειν*, etc. On the other hand we miss St. Paul's favourite particles, such as *ἄρα*, *διότι*, and other favourite words of his, such as *καυχάομαι* (but this is not

[1] Similar expressions are in 1 Tim. ii. 3-6; Tit. ii. 11.

[2] "Great is the mystery of Godliness—*who* was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, etc." (1 Tim. iii. 16), where the masculine relative seems to require a corresponding antecedent—probably some name for our Lord.

[3] "The Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire." (1 Tim. v. 18.) The first of these sentences is in Deut. xxv. 4; but the second is only to be found as a saying of Jesus Christ in Luke x. 7. The objection goes too far. Sayings of Christ are not quoted even in the second century merely as "Scripture," without reference to His name. Probably the word Scripture here only refers to the first quotation.

found in Colossians or Philippians), περισσεύω (but this is not found in Galatians, which is undoubtedly St. Paul's). We also miss St. Paul's broken sentences. The style is smooth. It is possible to reply here as in the case of the third group. Time has elapsed, and brought with it changes affecting the mind of the writer.

The argument is cumulative, and it can only be appreciated where it is gone into fully.[1]

When these considerations are taken together, though some of them can be quite explained, it is clear that we have difficulties besetting these three epistles that apply to no others. Nevertheless the alternative must be faced. If the pastoral epistles were not written by St. Paul, they were intended to be passed off as his. Why then should the writer of them manufacture difficulties for himself? This is not like the case of the epistle to the Hebrews, which does not claim to be written by St. Paul. The great weight of critical opinion which is against the Pauline authorship justifies us in exercising some caution in regard to this question. Probably the view that best meets all the facts of the case is that advocated by Dr. Mc-Giffert, that these epistles are "authentic letters of Paul to Timothy and Titus, worked over and enlarged by another hand."[2]

2. **1 Timothy.**

a. *Timothy.*—We learn from Acts xvi. 1 that Timothy was the son of a Greek-speaking Gentile father and a Jewess mother at Derbe or Lystra in Lycaonia. Trained in the scriptures by his mother, who was named Eunice, and his grandmother Lois (2 Timothy i. 5), he was one of the converts won by St. Paul when the apostle accompanied Barnabas on what we call the first missionary journey. Probably he was but a boy at this time, but those who were gifted with prophetic insight in the church pointed him out as destined for missionary work. (1 Timothy i. 18;

[1] See DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, "The Pastoral Epistles," where a full list of words peculiar to these epistles is given.

[2] *Apostolic Age*, p. 405. The Pauline authorship is very fully discussed and defended in ZAHN'S *Einleitung*, Vol. I., pp. 398–489.

iv. 14.) The elders solemnly set him apart for this work (*ibid.*), and on St. Paul's return to the district, some six or seven years after his first visit, the apostle chose him as a colleague in the ministry, according to Acts first having him circumcised, no doubt that he might be able to work among Jews as well as Gentiles. (Acts xvi. 3.) Henceforth we find him most frequently associated with the apostle both in travel and in the writing of epistles, of some of which perhaps he was the amanuensis.[1] He was with St. Paul during the first imprisonment at Rome, and the pastoral epistles indicate that he was the apostle's travelling companion again after the release.

b. *Occasion, Place, and Date of Writing.*—St. Paul had been recently at Ephesus, and had been called away to Macedonia, leaving Timothy in charge of his work there (i. 3). He had intended to return before long; but he had been unexpectedly delayed (iii. 14, 15). This delay led him to send directions to Timothy. These are concerned partly with doctrine, for the prevention of the spread of a false teaching that is threatening the church, and partly with administrative affairs, the appointment of church officers, and the sort of persons who should be chosen. Timothy seems to need rousing and encouraging (iv. 12–15). The apostle appears to be now in Macedonia. This must be some time after the first imprisonment, *i.e.*, after A.D. 62, perhaps about A.D. 64.

c. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation.

3–7, Timothy left at Ephesus to counteract false teaching about the law.

8–11, The true use of the law, which is not for the righteous, but for sinners.

12–17, Paul's conversion gratefully acknowledged.

18–20, Timothy charged to be faithful, and warned from two examples of apostasy.

[1] His name occurs among the messengers of the salutation in Rom. xvi. 21, and united to the apostle's name as a joint sender of six letters. (2 Cor. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; Phile. 1.)

ii. 1–7, Prayer for all men, since God wills all to be saved through the One Mediator.

8–15, Conduct of men in worship, and decorous behaviour of women.

iii. 1–7, The character for a bishop.

8–13, The character for deacons.

14, 15, Expecting to come soon to Timothy, the apostle charges him to direct the church.

16, A confession of primary beliefs about Christ.

iv. 1–5, Ascetics, forbidding marriage and certain foods, condemned.

6–16, Timothy to be a good minister, nourished by the truth, not trusting in bodily exercises, and avoiding foolish fables.

v. 1, 2, Concerning rebukes of elders, etc.

3–16, Directions concerning widows.

17–25, Duties to elders, for their support, and in charging them with faults.

vi. 1, 2, The duties of servants, especially not to despise believing masters.

3–5, Against vain disputations.

6–10, The duty of contentment, and the mischief of the love of money.

11–16, Timothy charged to be courageous in conflict, looking for the manifestation of the Great King.

17–19, A charge to the rich against pride, to be generous, and prize the true riches.

20, 21, Final warning of Timothy against foolish and false teachings.

The citation of what are called "faithful sayings" is a peculiarity of the pastoral epistles.[1] These may be (1) utterances of the Christian prophets, or (2) phrases arranged for catechetical teaching, or (3) in some cases scraps of hymns familiar from frequent repetition. It is not probable that they are *Logia* of Jesus Christ, since, though some might have been spoken by our Lord, this could not have been the case with all; that of 1 Timothy iii. 1, "If a man seeketh the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work," is certainly of late origin.

[1] Found in 1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Titus iii. 8.

3. **2 Timothy.**

a. *Place, Date, and Occasion of Writing.*—St. Paul is now at Rome again (i. 17), and a second time a prisoner, the reason of his imprisonment being the witness he has borne to Christ (i. 8, 12). It would seem that he had not been able to fulfil the wish expressed in 1 Timothy, and return to Timothy at Ephesus, owing to his arrest and removal to the Imperial City. This imprisonment had already lasted some time, for news of it had reached Ephesus, and the apostle had requested two of his friends, Phygellus and Hermogenes, to come to him in Rome, but they had refused, probably because of the danger (i. 15). A beautiful exception was that of the Ephesian Onesiphorus, who had not been ashamed of owning the prisoner, and had sought the apostle out of his own accord. St. Paul does not expect to escape this time. His case has already had a first hearing, when no witness appeared in his defence (iv. 16). He is now ready to be offered up, assured that the time of his departure has come (iv. 6). But he has heard sad news of Timothy, who is depressed and alarmed (i. 7, 8). The apostle writes to encourage him and guide him in his work, but with the specific object of asking him to come to his friend at Rome before winter (iv. 21). This shows that St. Paul does not anticipate an immediate execution. Accepted as a genuine epistle of St. Paul, probably 2 Timothy should not be later than A.D. 65.

b. *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation.

3–5, Thankfulness for Timothy's hereditary faith.

6–14, Exhortation to energy and courage in view of the holy calling in Christ Jesus.

15–18, The failing of friends in Asia, and the fidelity of Onesiphorus in visiting the apostle in prison.

ii. 1–13, Exhortation to endure hardship as Christ's soldier in remembrance of Him and His resurrection. They who die with Christ shall live with Him.

14–19, Contentions and profane discussions to be shunned

The instances of Hymenæus and Philetus, who overthrow the faith of some by asserting that the resurrection is past already.

We have no data for determining the nature of this heresy. It is not likely that it was merely the denial of a bodily resurrection, as some have thought, because the expression "past already" would not suit such an idea, except for those who were already dead, and then not aptly. Probably the notion is that the resurrection time for all Christians was passed, and the new age arrived, so that there would be no further development to look for, no Parousia in the future, and possibly no death.[1]

20–26, Varieties of character like varieties of vessels in a house. To be as a vessel of honour, a man should purge himself, escaping from youthful desires, and avoiding foolish questionings.

iii. 1–9, The coming mischief-makers, who will creep into houses, deceiving foolish women.

10–12, A reminder of the persecutions Timothy had witnessed or heard of in his own country.

13–17, Finding instruction in Scripture inspired by God in order to avoid impostors.

iv. 1–6, A charge to be faithful in the ministry of preaching, rebuking, encouraging, etc.

7, 8, The apostle's course drawing to an end.

9–15, Personal notes; Timothy urged to come, since most of his companions have forsaken the apostle.

16–18, The first hearing of the apostle's case, when no one appeared in his defence.

19–22, Final salutations.

4. **Titus.**

a. *Titus the Evangelist.*—All we can know of Titus must be gathered from St. Paul's epistles, as he is never mentioned in Acts. He was a Gentile (Galatians ii. 3), and a convert of St. Paul's. (Titus i. 4.) We first meet with him as a companion of Paul and Barnabas in the visit to Jerusalem described in Galatians ii. 1–10, when he was not compelled to be circumcised. He would seem to have been personally

[1] This is Von Soden's interpretation, *Hand-Com.*, in loc.

known to the Galatians, perhaps because, like Timothy, he was a fellow-countryman. Subsequently he attended the apostle at times during his missionary journeys. When difficulties arose in Corinth he was despatched thither, and he was able to report good news on meeting his master in Macedonia. (2 Corinthians vii. 6, 7, 13–15.) He was the bearer of 2 Corinthians (viii. 6, 16–18). Then we lose sight of him. After St. Paul's release from his first imprisonment, Titus was with him in Crete, and was left there by the apostle to direct the affairs of the churches. (Titus i. 5.)

b. *Occasion and Time of Writing the Epistle.*—Zenas, a former teacher of the Jewish law, and Apollos, having to travel by way of Crete, St. Paul, in commending them to the churches there (iii. 13), seizes the opportunity to send a letter of directions to Titus. A special reason for writing is found in the invasion of the churches by Jews, mercenary teachers who seek to fascinate the Cretans with their "fables" (i. 10–14). The apostle indicates that the work of Titus in appointing worthy and capable elders is to counteract this mischievous influence. The situation compels a date subsequent to the history in Acts, and the condition of the churches suggests a late date. The similarity to 1 Timothy suggests that the two epistles were written at the same time, *i.e.*, about A.D. 64. It is impossible to say which was written first. The locality of the apostle when writing cannot be determined. As he expects to winter at Nicopolis, probably the city of that name in Epirus, possibly he is writing from Greece or Macedonia.

c. *Contents.*

i. 1–4, Salutation, with reminder of the promise of eternal life.

5–9, Titus left in Crete to ordain elders; the requisite character for a bishop.

10–16, Unruly men, vain talkers, especially such as are Jews, to be restrained.

ii. 1–10, Duties of aged men and women; young women and men; servants.

11–15, The grace of God that brings salvation, and the hope of the appearing of Christ.

iii. 1, 2, Subjection to rulers, diligence, kindness, gentleness, etc., to be commended.

3–8, The kindness of God, delivering us from our former evil life, and saving us to be heirs of eternal life.

9–11, Foolish discussions to be avoided. How to deal with a factious person.

12–14, When Artemas or Tychicus are sent to him, Titus is to join the apostle at Nicopolis for the winter. Zenas the lawyer, and Apollos commended.

15, Final salutation.

In i. 12, St. Paul quotes a Cretan "one of themselves, a prophet of their own." The saying is by Epimenides, a native of Phæstus or Cnossus in Crete, a bard who was regarded as a seer. Plato calls him *θεῖος ἀνήρ*, and Cicero couples him with Bacis, the Bœotian sibyl.[1] But the saying is quoted by Callimachus, from whom St. Paul may have derived it. Or it may have become a popular proverb, and thus known to the apostle apart from literature. Still the definite ascription of it to its author renders it more probable that St. Paul had seen the line when reading the writings of its author.

There is not much that can be regarded as an advance in the apostle's teaching to be found in the pastoral epistles. These writings deal with fresh forms of false teaching, but unlike Colossians and Ephesians, which meet the error, and counteract it, by the full exposition of the truth which opposes it, the pastoral epistles, while describing and characterising what the apostle objects to, do not enter into any arguments or make any assertions of the contrary truth. The object is rather to encourage and urge Timothy and Titus to resist the mischievous teaching by means already familiar to them. Some development of church order is now manifest. The appointment of elders is directly commanded in order to keep irregularities out of the churches. To this end teaching faculty is a valuable qualification for the office. Deacons are also now recognised as a second order in the churches.

[1] See ELLICOTT'S *Com.*, in loc.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

1. Who was the Author—Paul, Luke, Clement, Apollos, Barnabas?
2. Date and Place of Writing.
3. The Church Addressed.
4. Occasion of Writing.
5. Contents.
6. Argument.

1. The Author.

This is a perfectly anonymous work. Unlike St. Paul's epistles, which begin with the apostle's name, it has no such commencement; nor does the writer anywhere indicate who he is, for the title in A.V. and R.V. is not part of the original text, and is not found in the older MSS. Therefore the question of authorship is not one of genuineness. It has been assigned to Paul, Luke, Clement R., Apollos, Barnabas, Priscilla.

a. St. Paul.—We first meet with the name of Paul in connection with the epistle at Alexandria about the middle of the second century. This came to be the current idea in the East first; the West was slower to accept the epistle as a work of the apostle. Thus it is ascribed to St. Paul by Pantænus, Clement, and Origen in Alexandria; by Paul of Samosata at the Synod of Antioch; by Eusebius of Cæsarea; by the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 364), and universally by the later Greek fathers. On the other hand, in the West we find that Irenæus, Hippolytus, Caius of Rome, Tertullian, and Cyprian did not attribute it to St. Paul. It was not in the Canon of Marcion, nor in the *Muratorian Fragment* as St. Paul's. It was not accepted in the West as a work of the apostle till the fifth century, under the influence of Augustine and Jerome, and the latter expressed some hesitation on the subject.

Pantænus of Alexandria in the middle of the second century is the earliest writer to refer the authorship to St. Paul. He gives two reasons why the apostle did not attach his name to it: (1) That Christ was the real apostle to the Hebrews; (2) that Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles, not the Jews.[1] Clement of Alexandria follows, also ascribing it to St. Paul, and adding that it was written for the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, and translated by Luke.[2] The latter statements are plainly incorrect, as the book is not a translation; but the fact that Clement was led to make them is not without significance. It shows that critical difficulties about the style had been perceived. Next we have Origen, whose statements are not entirely consistent. In his Homilies on Joshua he ascribes fourteen epistles to St. Paul,[3] and in the epistle *Ad Africanum*, chapter ix, he defends the Pauline authorship against those who deny it. Such denial then is to be found even in the East. This is in A.D. 240. Five years later Origen has modified his position. In a homily dated A.D. 245, while he states that Hebrews was traditionally ascribed to Paul by "men of old time," he admits difficulties in the style, and comes to the conclusion that the thought was Paul's, but the writer a disciple of Paul's. He mentions traditions assigning it to Clement R. and to Luke, and for his own part declares "who wrote the epistle God only knows."[4] If then we accept Origen's final judgment as representing his ripe opinion, we shall have to class this important and ancient scholar with those who deny the Pauline authorship. When we turn to the Syrian Church we find the epistle in the Peshitto, as in our Bibles, not with the letters to the churches, but after the letters to individual men, which suggests that it was added as an appendix to the Pauline collection. Yet at the Synod of Antioch a letter of Paul of Samosata was read, which quoted Hebrews xi. 26 together with sentences from 1 and 2 Corinthians as by the same apostle. Eusebius must be cited on the Pauline side. He often quotes the epistle as St. Paul's, accepts fourteen epistles of St. Paul,[5] and includes Hebrews in St. Paul's "Homologoumena."[6] But subsequently he follows Origen in holding that the apostle wrote it in Hebrew, and relates how some say that the evangelist Luke, others that Clement, translated it. Eusebius inclines to accept Clement (*i.e.*, of Rome) as the translator.[7] Subsequently he seems to have placed it among the "Antilegomena."[8] The Council of Laodicea and the Fathers Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Naz., Gregory Nys., Cyril Jer., and Theodoret, all ascribe it to St. Paul. Still even Theodoret mentions people of Arian sentiments who rejected Hebrews as spurious (*νόθος*), denying that Paul wrote it. Thenceforth, however, we meet with no more doubts.

In the West the case is very different. Though quoted by Clement R., the epistle fell out of notice in this region. Irenæus, while frequently

[1] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 14. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] "God thundering on the fourteen trumpets of his"—*i.e.*, Paul's—"epistles, threw down even the walls of Jericho, that is, all the instruments of the idols and the doctrines of the philosophers." But this is only preserved in the Latin translation by Rufinus, who professedly "corrects" Origen.

[4] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 25. [5] *H.E.*, iii. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, iii. 25. [7] *Ibid.*, iii. 38. [8] *Ibid.*, vi. 13.

citing the Pauline epistles, never cites Hebrews, though it would often have helped his argument;[1] nor does Hippolytus name it. Caius of Rome only refers to thirteen epistles of Paul, thus excluding Hebrews.[2] Tertullian does not seem to know that Hebrews had ever been attributed to Paul.[3] Cyprian writes of the seven churches to which Paul wrote,[4] thus excluding Hebrews; and he never mentions Hebrews, and never cites it. Not till the fourth century do we hear a whisper in the West of the Pauline authorship. As far as we know, the first Western writer to ascribe Hebrews to St. Paul is Hilary of Poictiers (A.D. 368); others follow, *e.g.*, Lucifer, Ambrose. Jerome often quotes Hebrews as St. Paul's. Yet he writes with hesitation, as when he says, "If anyone is willing to receive that the epistle has been written . . . under Paul's name."[5] He says the Latin custom had not been to receive it among the Canonical epistles. Augustine uses it as St. Paul's, and from his time it is acknowledged as Pauline in the West as well as the East.

When we turn to internal evidence we find certain traits that might indicate a Pauline origin: (1) The author writes with weight, and as one who has a right to exhort his readers. (2) He is a friend of Timothy (xiii. 23). (3) He refers to "my bonds" (x. 34). But that is only according to doubtful MS. authority.[6] (4) He refers to "those of Italy" (xiii. 24). But this does not imply that he writes from Italy. (5) Certain linguistic coincidences have been pointed out.

Dr. Salmon cites a number of verbal coincidences.[7] Like St. Paul he is found ringing the changes on a word, *e.g.*, on ὑποτάσσω. (Hebrews ii. 8; conf. 1 Corinthians xv. 27.) But as to the verbal resemblances generally, it is agreed that whoever the author was, he knew some of the apostle's epistles, and borrowed phrases from them.

(6) In the matter of doctrine the Pauline liberalism is assumed.

[1] Eusebius says he mentioned Hebrews (*H.E.*, v. 26), but does not say he ascribed it to St. Paul. No passage in the extant works of Irenæus can be pointed to as supporting Eusebius's statement. Stephen Gobar (sixth century), in a passage preserved by Photius Cod. 232, writes, "Hippolytus and Irenæus say that the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his."

[2] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 20.

[3] His opinion will be considered with respect to the Barnabas theory.

[4] *Adv. Jud.*, i. 20.

[5] *Com.* on *Titus*, i. 5; compare *Com.* on *Titus*, ii. 5; *Ezek.* xxviii. 11; *Amos* viii. 7, 8; *Jer.* xxxi. 31.

[6] δεσμοῖς μου—ℵ; δεσμίοις—A.D. vg., syrr., cop., arm.

[7] *Introd.*, Lect. xxi.

On the other hand there are insuperable difficulties to accepting the Eastern tradition that St. Paul was the author. The work is not at all like any of St. Paul's epistles. In its form it is much more like a treatise. The Greek is purer than that of the apostle. The style is very different from his. St. Paul is vehement and abrupt, given to break off from the main topic, inserting parentheses, and generally writing in the free manner of conversation. But in Hebrews we have finished phrases; full, rounded, rhetorical sentences, and every evidence of calm self-possession. One clear distinction may be noted. When quoting from the O.T. St. Paul makes frequent use of the Hebrew text, and corrects the LXX. by it; but the author of Hebrews invariably quotes the LXX., and even argues from it where it differs from the original.[1] Moreover, his way of introducing the O.T. is different from St. Paul's; for while the apostle uses such phrases as "it is written," "the Scripture says," "David says," "Moses says," "Isaiah says," Hebrews does not cite under the title "Scripture," or with the authors' names, but attributes the utterances cited to the Holy Spirit, or to God, except that once he refers to a writer in a vague way, saying "one hath somewhere testified" (ii. 6).

We meet with a number of phrases foreign to the Pauline writings, *e.g.*, "the living God," "the living way," "the living Word," full-sounding poetical words (such as μεγαλωσύνη, used twice for God, i. 3; viii. 1). Greek particles are more frequent than in Paul, especially γάρ and τε καί.[2]

Even more convincing is the strongly-marked difference of doctrinal standpoints. It is not that there is any contradiction between Hebrews and Paulinism. But the way of regarding the Christian scheme is very different. With St. Paul, Christianity is the one saving faith for which Judaism is a preparation by awakening conscience through the law, and so demonstrating the need of the gospel; but according to Hebrews Christianity is the new covenant, which contains in reality and perfection what the law had but in shadow, and with inferior

[1] In the use of LXX., Paul commonly agrees with the Vatican MS., but Hebrews with the Alexandrian.

[2] For a list of verbal peculiarities see DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, Hebrews.

merits. Taking all these facts into consideration, and noting the great uncertainty of patristic tradition on the subject, we must come to the conclusion that the epistle was not written by St. Paul.

b. *St. Luke.*—Clement's and Origen's remarks cited above[1] raise the question whether St. Luke was the author. This view has been maintained by Delitzsch and others, chiefly on the ground of similarity of style and vocabulary.[2] But the fatal objection to it is that the author was a Jew, while St. Luke was a Gentile.[3] Besides, in the case of such a well-known writer as the author of the third gospel and Acts, it is difficult to imagine how one of his works could thus be detached from his name.

c. *Clement of Rome.*—Origen's suggestion of a tradition connecting Hebrews with Clement R. has brought his name into the field, and a comparison with 1 *Clement* shows many points of resemblance. Erasmus was inclined to accept Clement. But the weak, diffuse style of Clement's epistle is quite unworthy of the author of Hebrews, from a literary point of view the most able writer in the N.T. Origen gives no authority for the tradition, which he unites with that naming St. Luke. Evidently he attached no weight to it.

d. *Apollos.*—Luther first suggested the name of Apollos, which has found much favour in recent days. It was advocated by Bleek and Dean Alford. Lünemann was so confident as to speak of this hypothesis as "the only correct one," and Davidson regarded it as the most probable. The following points may be noted in its favour:—

(1) Apollos was a friend of St. Paul, in general sympathy with the apostle's ideas, and associated with the group of his friends, yet with a certain independence in his own methods, as we may gather from 1 Corinthians i. and ii. This would suit the author of Hebrews. (2) He was "an eloquent man" (ἀνὴρ

[1] Page 422.

[2] Delitzsch gives a long list of linguistic resemblances. See *Com.* on Heb., Introd.

[3] See Col. iv. 11, 14.

λόγιος, Acts xviii. 24); and the epistle is especially characterised by rhetorical merits. (3) He was "mighty in the Scriptures," and Hebrews deals with the O.T. in a masterly way. (4) He was an Alexandrian Jew. Now Hebrews contains many Alexandrian traits. The author only uses the O.T. in the LXX. version, and he reasons in the Alexandrian method. He seems familiar with Philo and the Book of Wisdom.[1] If Apollos was the author, we must set aside the idea that the epistle was directed to the Jerusalem church or to Palestinian Christians at all; but that destination has been doubted on other grounds. It is not quite clear how Apollos could describe himself as one who had received the gospel from those who had been personal disciples of Jesus Christ, since he was instructed by Aquila and Priscilla. But others may have "confirmed" this teaching."[2]

A further difficulty in regard to Apollos is that no tradition whatever has preserved his name as that of the author. Considering how prominent Apollos was in the first century, and how much the question of the authorship of Hebrews seems to have been discussed in the second century (to judge by what we read of the Alexandrian teachers, Pantænus, Clement, and Origen alone), it is inconceivable that no one should have discovered the secret if he had been the author of the epistle. Clement R. wrote to Corinth and quoted Hebrews in his epistle. If he had known that Apollos had written that work,

[1] Bleek adduces 22 passages of resemblance between Heb. and Philo. In particular compare Heb. vi. 13 with Philo, *Leg. Allegor.*, vol. i., p. 127 (edit. Mang.); vii. 12 with *Leg.*, vol. i., p. 102—"the king of Salem" interpreted as "king of Peace"; vii. 3 with *De Inebriebate*, vol. i., p. 368, the rare word ἀμήτωρ; iii. 5 with *Leg. Allegor.*, vol. i., p. 128—"Moses was faithful in all his house," the very same words. Ἀπαύγασμα (Heb. i. 3) is a favourite word of Philo's. For comparison with the Book of Wisdom, compare Heb. i. 1 with Wisd. vii. 22—πολυμερές, used of σοφία; Heb. i. 2 with Wisd. vii. 26—ἀπαύγασμα, also used of σοφία; Heb. i. 3 with Wisd. xvi. 21—ὑπόστασις; Heb. xii. 17 with Wisd. xii. 10—τόπον μετανοίας; Heb. xiii. 7 with Wisd. ii. 17—the rare word ἔκβασις for death in both cases. Dean Plumptre even suggested that Heb. and Wisd. were written by the same author.

[2] Compare Acts xviii. 25, 26 with Heb. ii. 3, "*Confirmed* unto us by them that heard."

surely he would have mentioned him when citing his words for the benefit of the church of which he was one of the most famous teachers; and that he would not have known is most improbable.

e. *Barnabas.*—Tertullian assumes that the epistle is the work of Barnabas, writing, "There is extant withal an epistle to the Hebrews under the name of Barnabas," etc.;[1] and again, "The epistle of Barnabas is more generally received among the churches than that apocryphal 'Hermas' of adulterers,"[2] and then proceeds to cite Hebrews vi. 1, 4–6, and again 7, 8, thus making it evident that he means our epistle. Harnack justly remarks how unmethodical it is to place the Barnabas hypothesis on a level with the Clement, Luke, and Apollos hypotheses, which have no such authority.[3] Tertullian implies that Barnabas was the accepted author in North Africa, and North Africa was in close connection with Rome, where the epistle was known at least as early as Clement R. (A.D. 95). Then there is much in the contents favouring the Barnabas theory: (1) Barnabas was a companion of Paul, and yet as the older man more or less independent. (2) He could speak with almost apostolic authority. (3) A Levite, he would be interested in the ritual of the Levitical system, so elaborately discussed in this epistle. (4) A native of Cyprus, he would be on a line of close communication with Alexandria by sea. Philo's teaching would easily pass on to Cyprus. In the Clementine Homilies Barnabas is represented as teaching in Alexandria.[4] (5) Known in the N.T. as a "son of consolation," or "exhortation,"[5] he would be well represented by an epistle, the chief end of which is encouragement of the faint-hearted.

It is to be noted that in the stichometrical list of O.T. and N.T. books at the end of Cod. Claromontanus (D_2) "The Epistle of

[1] *De Pudic.*, 20.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Chronologie*, vol. i., p. 477, note 2.
[4] *Clem. Hom.*, 1. 9.
[5] *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, Acts iv. 36.

Barnabas" has 850 verses assigned to it. Comparing this number with the numbers assigned to other books, we see that it would suit Hebrews better than our so-called epistle of Barnabas, which is half as long again.

It has been objected that Barnabas was not eloquent, since at Lystra he was taken for Zeus, while the lot of Hermes was assigned to Paul as the chief speaker. (Acts xiv. 12.) But surely it is a just reply that the best writer is not always the most fluent open-air speaker. The highly-finished literary style of Hebrews would not be so suited to evangelistic addresses as St. Paul's more rugged oratory. Then it has been objected that the author of Hebrews makes mistakes about the Temple customs, which would have been impossible to Barnabas. But the apparent errors admit of explanation, and if not explained they are not prohibitive.

(1) The pot of manna and Aaron's rod in the ark (ix. 4), where, according to 1 Kings viii. 9, only the two tables of stone were kept, a point on which Philo and Josephus agree; (2) the altar of incense belonging to the holiest place (ix. 4), but general association may be all that is meant; (3) the high priest sacrificing daily (vii. 27). At all events he was free to do this, and his conscience might be thought to prompt him to it.

e. *Priscilla.*—Harnack has made the brilliant suggestion that the epistle was written by this well-known, capable, and successful woman-worker in the primitive Church, and he is supported by Dr. Rendel Harris. (1) In the N.T. her name appears before that of Aquila more frequently than in the usual order where husband and wife are named, suggesting that she was the leading evangelist of the two (Acts xviii. 18, 26; Rom. xvi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 29). (2) She was associated with Paul in his work. (3) She was a teacher of the Alexandrian Apollos, and Hebrews has Alexandrian affinities. (4) If this epistle was written by a woman, the fact may explain the concealment of the author's name.

2. Date and Place of Writing.

Whoever wrote Hebrews, the antiquity of the work is assured by the fact that it was known to Clement of Rome.

Clement does not formally introduce his references as quotations, nor does he mention any author or book in connection with them; but they are unmistakable. Compare Clement R., 1 *Corinthians* ix. 2 and xii. 1 with Hebrews xi. 7, 31; and Clement R., 1 *Corinthians* xxxvi. 2 with Hebrews i. 3 ff.

From indications in the epistle itself we may infer that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, for it contains no reference to that event, while its argument dealing with the transitory character of Judaism would have been strongly supported by an appeal to it if it had occurred. On the other hand we cannot place Hebrews very early, because it indicates that the first generation of Christians had passed away.[1] It is after some imprisonment of Timothy.[2] Probably we should place it in the decade A.D. 60–70, perhaps about A.D. 68.[3] It is quite uncertain where the epistle was written.

3. **The Church Addressed.**—There are critics who hold that the epistle was not addressed to Jews at all. The treatment of Judaising teaching as a "strange doctrine" (xiii. 9), and the idea of "departing from the living God" (iii. 12) rather than from Christ, seem to point to converts from heathenism. But in all extant MSS. and versions the epistle appears as addressed "To the Hebrews," and this is the name under which it is quoted by the fathers. Its aim in showing the superiority of Christianity to the O.T. religion would be specially suitable to Jews. In the opening sentence the writer refers to the Jews as "our fathers" (i. 1), and in describing the Incarnation he says that Christ "took hold of the seed of Abraham" (ii. 16). Then the promises to Israel pass on to Christian "people of God" without any hint of a change of race (iv. 9). All the references to the Levitical services imply that the readers value them. Still some one church is addressed, and not the Jews generally, as several definite expressions show.[4] This can scarcely be the Jerusalem church, for the readers are not addressed as a community of such importance; they had not had martyrs (xii. 4); and they had been givers of aid (x. 34). Some community of Palestinian Jews, *e.g.*, at Cæsarea, would suit the

[1] See ii. 3; xiii. 7.

[2] xiii. 23.

[3] Harnack considers that it might be as late as Domitian, and dates it between 65 and 95.—*Chron.*, pp. 475–479.

[4] v. 11, 12; x. 34; xiii. 23, 24.

epistle better. Rome has been strongly advocated as the place addressed.[1] The use of the epistle by Clement shows that it was known there. "They of Italy" (xiii. 24) would be Italian friends of the readers. The Neronian persecution is thought to be referred to in x. 32, 33.[2] Although the expression, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood" (xii. 4), could not well be addressed to the Roman church after Nero, on the whole Rome seems to be the most likely destination.

Alexandria has also been suggested, because it is thought the temple of Onias might suit the language of the epistle better than that at Jerusalem. But the writer is referring to the tabernacle. The allegorical style applies to the writer rather than the readers. The epistle "to the Alexandrians" in the *Muratorian Fragment* may be our Hebrews; but this is purely a matter of conjecture.

4. Occasion of Writing.

The church addressed is in distress, undergoing a trial of its faith, a chronic persecution which threatens to become acute (xii. 1–13). This distress is accompanied by a feeling of disappointment that the O.T. hopes are not realised. There is even danger of a relapse. Yet the church has a good record in connection with its past leaders and its own generosity and sympathy with the suffering. It is not so much to be blamed, as warned, exhorted, and encouraged. To this end the writer aims at showing how great are the Christian privileges which realise and exceed all that was foreshadowed in the Jewish system; at the same time he urges his readers practically to live up to their privileges.

5. Contents.

i. 1–3, The higher revelation in the Son contrasted with that by the prophets.

4–14, The superiority of the Son to the angels.

[1] This view is supported by Renan, Pfleiderer, Harnack, Holtzmann, Von Soden, Bacon, Peake, etc. Hort, in *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 156–159, defends the Palestinian locality. So do Salmon, Bishop Westcott, and Bruce.

[2] Note especially the singular expression, "being made a gazing stock" (*θεατριζόμενοι*), aptly suggesting the scene in Nero's garden.

ii. 1–4, Warning against drifting from this higher revelation.
5–8, Superiority to the angels further demonstrated.
9–18, Christ humiliated and perfected through suffering.

This shows why, though Scripture declared Him to be greater than the angels, we see Him on earth in an inferior condition. The humiliation is for the sake of mankind, that Christ may be a merciful and faithful high priest.

iii. 1–6, Christ as the Son contrasted with Moses, who indeed was faithful in God's house, but only as a servant.
7–19, Consequent warning not to follow the example of those who were disobedient to Moses in the wilderness. Since our Leader is greater, our obligation not to fall away is correspondingly more urgent.
iv. 1–13, Continued warning and exhortation leading to an encouragement based on the very failure of the Israelites. Since neither under Joshua nor under David had they realised the promised rest, that rest must still remain in the future for the people of God, because God's word is sure.
14–16, Encouragement to boldness of access to the throne of grace through our High Priest.
v. 1–10, High priesthood of Christ—which a psalmist describes as "after the order of Melchizedek"—compared with that of Aaron in two respects—(1) human nature, (2) divine appointment.
11–14, Elementary condition of the readers, who need milk, not solid food.
vi. 1–8, Need to advance, because of the danger of falling away to hopeless ruin.
9–12, A better hope for the "Hebrews," who at least do good in ministering to the saints.
13–20, God's blessing assured by His oath.
vii. 1–28, Allegory of Melchizedek. (1) His unique position (1–3); (2) His superiority to the Levitical priests, seeing that in Abraham Levi paid tithes to him (4–10); (3) His promised coming (in Psalm cx.) implies the weakness and failure of the Aaronic priesthood, which He is therefore called to supersede, Himself abiding for ever (11–25); (4) Christ

such a High Priest, and further superior to Aaron because not needing to offer daily sacrifices for Himself (26–28).

viii. 1–5, Christ the High Priest of the heavenly tabernacle offering sacrifices.

6–13, The new covenant promised in the O.T.

ix. 1–10, The tabernacle, its furniture, and its services, but temporary and to serve as a parable.

11–22, Christ a High Priest of greater things, and in the more perfect tabernacle, cleanses our consciences by His blood, and becomes the Mediator of the new covenant which is consecrated by His blood, as the old covenant had been consecrated by the Levitical sacrifices.

23–28, Christ's great sacrifice of Himself offered once for all to bear the sins of many.

x. 1–4, The repetition of the Levitical sacrifices a sign of their impotence.

5–18, By coming to do God's will, Christ superseded the ineffectual sacrifices in which God took no pleasure, and by one offering, perfected the consecrated people, who now have the new covenant of the law on their hearts.

19–25, Consequent encouragement to enter the holy place, and maintain the assemblies for worship.

26–31, Warning against apostasy, which, to those who despise the Son of God, must bring worse punishment than that threatened against the breakers of Moses' law.

32–39, Encouragement to be faithful in memory of early days, and the heroism of the martyrs.

xi., The heroes of faith.

xii. 1, 2, Consequent exhortations to run the race with diligence.

3–13, Chastisement to be endured as a proof of sonship.

14–17, Exhortation to peace, and fidelity.

18–29, Our Mount Zion superior to the mount of the law, and therefore its associated utterances more weighty.

xiii. 1–7, Definite exhortations concerning brotherly love, hospitality, prisoners, marriage, the love of money, contentment; former ministers of the Church to be remembered.

8–9, Christ being changeless, we are exhorted not to be unsettled by strange teachings.

10–15, Our altar outside the camp, and the city we seek.

16, 17, Charity and obedience.

18, 19, Prayers of the Hebrews sought; hope of seeing them soon.

20, 21, Benediction and doxology.

22, Concluding explanations.

24, 25, Salutations and benediction.

6. The Argument and Purpose.

There is a unity in the argument of Hebrews such as we find in no other book of the N.T. The writer continually breaks the thread of his argument to draw practical conclusions and exhort his readers to conduct corresponding to each point reached. Nevertheless, he resumes it again where he left off, and thus carries it on to the end. The eloquent exordium starts the theme. Christ as the Son is a manifestation of God superior to the revelation in the O.T. That came by angels; the new revelation is in a Son. The old covenant was served by Moses, a servant; the new is in the hands of Christ, the Son. Then in regard to the priesthood, Christ is like Melchizedek, and in many ways superior to Aaron; it is the same with His sacrifice, which is far superior to those of the law; His heavenly tabernacle is greater than the Levitical tabernacle on earth; and now we are called to the heavenly Zion, greater than Sinai in the wilderness. Thus the new covenant has all that was in the old, and has it in a higher, better, more effectual way. The conclusion is to prize this new covenant, and be faithful to it. The splendid hero-roll of faith comes in aptly here in the concluding exhortation. If faith under the inferior covenant produced such magnificent results, what sort of men should we be who have the greater covenant?

CHAPTER X.

THE GENERAL EPISTLES

1. James—Question of Authorship and Origin.
2. 1 Peter—Relation to St. Paul.
3. 2 Peter.
4. Jude.
5. 1 John.
6. 2 John.
7. 3 John.

1. James.

a. *The Authorship and Origin.*—The epistle opens with the name of its writer as "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (i. 1), and it gives no further information as to who this James is. He could not be Zebedee's son, who was killed as early as A.D. 44, for the epistle can scarcely be placed so far back as that. We know nothing of James "The Little" to lead us to assign it to him. The only James known in the N.T. history, to whom it can be referred with any probability, is "the Lord's brother," the leader of the Jerusalem church, and to him it has been ascribed by church tradition.

The epistle was not universally accepted in the early church. Still it was cited by Hermas in Rome, and by Irenæus in Gaul. It seems to have been in the Old Latin version and the Syriac. Origen is the first to ascribe it to St. James. Eusebius places it among the *Antilegomena*, but accepts it himself.[1]

Hermas has, "If ye resist the devil, he will be conquered, and flee from you in disgrace" (Mand. xii. 5); compare James iv. 7. But it could be said that "James" here cites "Hermas." Irenæus plainly cites it, but unlike his habit with St. Paul's epistles he does not ascribe it to any author; compare *Adv. Haer.*, iv. 16, 2 with James ii. 23. Clement A. seems to have used it,[2] and so perhaps does Hippolytus.[3] Origen

[1] *H.E.*, ii. 23 and iii. 25.

[2] See EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 14; CASSIODORUS, *Instit. Divin. Script.*, viii.

[3] *Discourse on End of World* (doubtfully ascribed to Hippolytus), 47.

ascribes the epistle to James in his commentary on John. It is not included in the Muratorian Canon; but from the time of Athanasius, who acknowledged it, the epistle grew in favour, and a century later, in the time of Augustine and Jerome, it was all but universally acknowledged.

There is much in the contents of the epistle that suits what we know of St. James. If not from Acts xv., at all events from Galatians i. and ii. we gather that he represented the more Jewish and less evangelical type of Christianity, and this is what we find in the epistle. No book of the N.T., except the gospels, contains so many echoes of the teachings of our Lord, and in this respect it may be thought to naturally represent the mind of the brother of Jesus. These echoes are none of them verbally identical with gospel *logia*, which is a reason for supposing the epistle was written before the gospels, and that its author drew on oral tradition.[1]

Nevertheless serious objections have been raised to the belief that this James was the author:—

(1) It is said to be improbable that James, the brother of the Lord, should have written with no reference to the life of Christ or His great work in all he had to say. This epistle only mentions Jesus Christ twice (i. 1; ii. 1), and then without any descriptive details. It says nothing of His character and doings on earth, His death, resurrection, and redemptive work. But we cannot assert that St. James would have referred to these subjects in a short practical letter; we have no means of judging what were his ideas concerning their importance.

(2) It has been thought improbable that a Galilean peasant would have had the very rich vocabulary and command of language revealed in this epistle, which contains many rare words and some elegant phrases only to be acquired through a knowledge of Greek literature. Unlike St. Paul at Ephesus and Rome, and St. John at Ephesus, St. James, who resided at Jerusalem till his death, had no opportunity for coming into contact with the Greek world of culture. Bishop

[1] A full list of these resemblances is in ZAHN'S *Einleitung*, vol. i., pp. 87, 88.

Wordsworth suggested that he wrote the epistle in Aramaic, and that then a scholarly man translated it into Greek. The style is Hebraistic in its abruptness. And yet it does not read like a translation. We must admit that this is a difficulty; but again we must remember that we know very little about St. James.

(3) It is said to contain quotations from other N.T. works. But it is possible that in some cases the quotations may be from James in the other writings. This applies especially to 1 Peter, which most clearly contains similar passages to what we find in James. 1 Peter plainly quotes from some of St. Paul's epistles, and it is reasonable to suppose that its resemblances to James are to be explained in the same way.

Compare James i. 10, 11 with 1 Peter i. 24; James iv. 6 with 1 Peter v. 5; James v. 20 with 1 Peter iv. 18. Other comparisons suggested are James ii. 23 with Romans iv. 3, and Galatians iii. 6. But these are not so close.[1]

(4) The circumstances of the church addressed are said not to suit the times of St. James. Many corruptions have crept in. In particular the rich are domineering over the poor. This is not like the church life portrayed in Acts. But it may be that in some cases St. James when most vehement is not really addressing any of his readers, but apostrophising the rich as a class (especially in iv. 13–v. 6). Or it may be that a Jewish synagogue had adopted Christianity, while a minority of its members was not converted to the new faith.

(5) The apparent contradictions to St. Paul's doctrine of justification, side by side with the exaltation of living faith, are thought by some to be impossible for St. James. We must say that either the epistle came before the great controversy, or long after it. If before, it could be by James.

Pfleiderer[2] holds that the epistle is written to counteract the antinomianism of extreme Paulinists of a later time who misunderstood

[1] See Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, pp. 335, 336.

[2] *Urchristenthum*, p. 865 ff.

the apostle. Spitta[1] maintains that the book is a Jewish work adapted by some Christian who merely inserted a Christian phrase in one or two places, *e.g.*, the words "Jesus Christ" twice. He points out in great detail the similarity of its utterances throughout to what may be found in purely Jewish literature. This paradoxical theory fails to account (1) for the singular resemblance to the teachings of Jesus; (2) for the silence of the author concerning the ceremonial law; (3) for the self-restraint of the adapter in not being more definite, especially in the description of St. James, who is to authenticate the work. While with Spitta the work is very primitive, before the N.T., with Harnack it is late. The name James, he holds, may be given in good faith, and not intended to represent the Lord's brother, but standing for some other James. With Harnack,[2] however, the work is not an epistle at all, but a collection of extracts from several Christian homilies. He regards it as not epistolary in character, and too disjointed to be one work. Bacon adopts this view. And yet is there not a marked unity of style throughout?

b. *Date.* — The question of the date of this epistle is bound up with that of its authorship. If it is early, there is strong reason for believing it to be the work of James, the brother of the Lord. Now there is much in it that favours an early date :—(1) The very lack of Christian theology points to a time before this had been elaborated by St. Paul, and thus makes for the primitive character of the epistle. (2) If, as the opening salutation suggests, it was written to Jews, we should expect to see some allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem, unless it were earlier than that event. (3) On the same hypothesis the total silence as to Gentile churches would be strange; there is no hint of the existence of such. But of course these two arguments do not hold with those who deny the Jewish destination of the epistle. (4) The church order is most elementary. Neither "bishops" nor "deacons" are named; we only meet with "teachers" (iii. 1), and "elders" (v. 14); and the teaching seems to be quite unorganised, as at Corinth in the time of 1 Corinthians. The direction to send for elders to pray for the sick and anoint them (v. 14) is most primitive. So is the description of the Church as a "synagogue" (ii. 2). But, if early, the epistle must be very early, to come before the outbreak of the controversy

[1] *Zur Geschichte u. Litterat. des Urchrist.*, vol. ii., pp. 1 ff.
[2] *Chronologie*, pp. 485–491.

on St. Paul's teaching, *i.e.*, before A.D. 50, and thus it must be the first written book of the N.T.[1] With this understanding it can be ascribed to St. James.

On the other hand serious reasons have been brought forward for quite a late date:—(1) The improbability that the epistolary form for treating religious truth, unknown before the N.T., should have been originated by this epistle rather than by St. Paul's epistles. The originality of the method suggests a great original mind—St. Paul's rather than St. James's. (2) The corruptions of the church, which, however, might be assigned to the original Jewish synagogue, as already suggested. (3) The supposed reference to ultra-Paulinism. It is said to be impossible for a contest about the relative value of faith and works to have arisen before St. Paul's teachings on the subject. This is a serious consideration; but the antithesis is not that of Paul, who contrasts faith with law, not with works; besides, the author has other contrasts, *e.g.*, words and deeds. (James i. 19-27.) (4) Blaspheming "the honourable name" (ii. 7) is said to point to persecutions later than Acts, when Christians were prosecuted as such, in the manner suggested by 1 Peter iv. 16. But the language is too vague to be pressed to this meaning. Early Jewish persecutions of Christians must have involved insults to the name of Jesus. The very expression, "suffer dishonour for the name," occurs in connection with the earliest persecutions at Jerusalem (Acts v. 41). The case is perplexing; but if the epistle is late, it must be quite down in the second century.[2] And the indications of a primitive character are against that position. Since we cannot rest in the intervening period, we seem driven back to the early date.

c. *Place of Writing.*—This is not given, but there are indications that specially suit Palestine, such as allusions to "the early and latter rain" (v. 7), the effect on vegetation of the burning wind (i. 11), the existence of salt and bitter springs (iii. 11), the cultivation of figs and olives (iii. 12), and the neighbourhood of the sea (i. 6; iii. 4)."[3] This would favour St. James as the author.

d. *The Persons Addressed.*—The epistle is addressed "to the twelve tribes which are of the dispersion" (i. 1). If it comes from the Jerusalem James, we must take this literally. St. James is writing to the dispersion; only we must understand him to refer to Christians, *i.e.*, Christian Jews outside Palestine. But on the theory of the late date the address is held to be figurative, referring to the spiritual Israel, *i.e.*, Christians, not Jews at all. In favour of this opinion it is

[1] See MAYOR, *Com.*, pp. cxix.-cxliv.

[2] Jülicher dates it A.D. 125–150; Harnack—the homilies out of which he holds it to be constructed—A.D. 120–140.

[3] See MAYOR, *Com.*, p. cxviii.

pointed out that the epistle seems, in part at least, to have one church in view (*e.g.*, ii. 2). But there is very little that can be so construed, and that is more than counterbalanced by the fact that no names or personal references whatever besides the name of the writer appear.

e. *Contents.*

i. 1, Greeting.

2–4, Trials endured with patience helpful.

5–8, Wisdom to be sought from God; the instability of the double-minded man.

9–11, Exaltation of the lowly, and temporary character of the prosperity of the rich.

12–15, The genesis and the fruit of sin.

16–18, The Father of lights, His gifts, and the life He engenders.

19–27, Foolish speech discouraged, and good deeds commended as the true ritual.

ii. 1–7, Warning against cringing to the rich and dishonouring the poor.

8–13, The royal law of love to our neighbour.

14–20, A warning against having belief without works.

21–26, Abraham and Rahab justified by works.

This is the passage in which the controversy with ultra-Paulinism is suspected. It is to be noticed how small a part of the epistle is thus occupied—just half one of the five chapters, 13 verses out of 108. Therefore it can hardly be supposed that the epistle was written merely or mainly to deal with this one topic. Then neither the faith nor the justification here referred to are those of St. Paul. Not the faith—for here πίστις is mere *belief* (see verse 19); but with St. Paul it is *trust* and *loyalty*, surrender of the soul and adhesion of the will, what St. James would call "living faith," that which shows itself by its works. Not the justification—for here the idea is acquittal at the final judgment; but with St. Paul δικαίωσις is the act of forgiveness with which the Christian life begins. It is true the very opposite use of the story of Abraham from St. Paul's (in Galatians iii., and Romans iv.) suggests the appearance of antagonism. If it is there Pfleiderer must be right, the antagonism must be to the ultra-Paulinism of a later generation, which misinterpreted the apostle. But the frequent use of the name of Abraham in the N.T.—it occurs no less than 72 times—suggests that it was familiarly used in Jewish theological discussions, so that the coincidence may be accidental. "Rahab the harlot" occurs in Hebrews xi. 31, in witness to faith—possibly also a familiar name in Jewish discussions, though the coincidence has been cited as a sign that James used Hebrews.

iii. 1–12, On bridling the tongue.

13–18, The wisdom from above contrasted with the factiousness of earthly wisdom.

iv. 1–10, The quarrels that arise from covetousness, and the evil of pride and worldliness.

11, 12, Against maligning or judging a brother.

13–17, The foolishness of boasting about the morrow.

v. 1–6, A denunciation of the rich.

7–11, Patience commended, with illustrations from the husbandman and Job.

12, Against swearing.

13–18, Prayer and praise commended. The great efficacy of prayer, illustrated from the example of Elijah, especially for a sick person, on behalf of whom elders are to be sent to pray over him and anoint him, when the Lord will raise him up.

19, 20, The great work of converting a sinner.

This epistle is practical throughout. It denounces faults, and encourages right conduct. It does not discuss doctrines. The abuses it contends against — foolish talk, respect of persons, empty belief, ambition for teaching others, carnal wisdom, covetousness, unkind judgments, boasting, the oppression of labourers by the rich—are all in the region of conduct. The opposite conduct is commended in precepts reminding us of the teachings of Jesus in the synoptics. The book is more like a homily, or a series of homilies, than an epistle. But it might be regarded as a pastoral for general circulation among Jewish Christians.

2. **1 Peter.**

a. *Genuineness.*—This epistle claims to be by "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ" (i. 1). It is one of the best attested books of the N.T. If we were sure that 2 Peter was genuine, we should say that the earliest witness was that epistle. (2 Peter iii. 1.) 1 Peter was known to the author of the *Didachè*, and to Polycarp, Papias, and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus. As usual, Irenæus is the first to

name it. Later fathers quote from it freely. It is among the *Homologoumena* of Eusebius, though it is not in the *Muratorian Fragment.*

The *Didachè* has "abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts" (i. 4), which reminds us of 1 Pet. ii. 11. Compare Polyc., *Phil.* 1 with 1 Pet. i. 8; *Phil.* 2 with 1 Pet. i. 13; *Phil.* 8 with 1 Pet. ii. 22 and 24. Eusebius states that Papias "made use of testimonies from the first epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter" (*H.E.*, iii. 39). Compare, further, *Epis. to Diog.* 6 with 1 Pet. ii. 11. Irenæus writes, "And Peter says in his epistle, Whom having not seen ye love, etc." (*Adv. Haer.*, iv. 9. 2); compare 1 Pet. i. 8. After this it is needless to cite the frequent quotations in Clement A., Origen, and Tertullian. The omission from the *Muratorian Fragment* is a curious fact. Certainly the epistle was known earlier. Yet the writer does not name it to reject it, as he does in the case of some spurious works; accordingly Dr. Salmon sets the omission down to an accident of carelessness.[1]

Then the internal evidence shows much that agrees with the character and history of Peter. The author seems to make a difference between himself and his readers in saying "Whom having not seen ye love" (i. 8), and he describes himself as a witness of the sufferings of Christ. There are several points of resemblance between the epistle and the speeches assigned to Peter in Acts. Thus in both appeal is made to O.T. predictions of the sufferings of Christ (Acts iii. 18; 1 Peter i. 10); in both we have the reference to the stone that was rejected by the builders (Acts iv. 11; 1 Peter ii. 7, 8); in both the cross of Christ is described as a "tree," or as "wood" (ξύλον —Acts v. 30; 1 Peter ii. 24).[2]

Davidson's objection, that we cannot be sure of the verbal accuracy of the speeches in Acts, is no adequate reply; because the coincidences exist and they are too slight to be designed.

But over and above these details, it must be felt by the thoughtful reader of this epistle that its author was a man of rare spiritual gifts, who stood very near to the fountains of inspiration. This is one of the very choicest gems in the N.T., worthy of the great apostle whose name it bears.

Nevertheless, it is held by many that the epistle is wrongly

[1] *Introd.*, Lecture xxii.

[2] For a number of similar coincidences see GLOAG, *Introd. to Cath. Epis.*, p. 114.

assigned to St. Peter. The following are the chief grounds of objection :—

(1) The epistle is entirely in the line of St. Paul's teaching —so much so that Harnack allows the possibility that Paul himself may have written it, though he assigns it to a disciple of the apostle.[1] This objection was stronger when the Tübingen hypothesis was maintained, since that hypothesis involved the direct antagonism of Peter and Paul. It is now widely admitted that no such antagonism existed. Still it is remarkable to find Peter thoroughly absorbing Paulinism, so that there is no other book of the N.T. not written by Paul himself that so closely resembles his writings. And then there are but the fewest reminiscences of the earthly life of Christ, only such as could have been gathered from the general knowledge possessed by the church; so that Peter here appears as having learnt more from Paul than from Christ. Moreover there are many allusions to some of Paul's epistles, certainly to Romans, probably to Ephesians. It is said to be most improbable that Peter would borrow so much from Paul. We cannot put it the other way and suppose that Paul borrowed from Peter, for Paul prided himself on his independence of the older apostles.

Compare 1 Pet. i. 1 with Eph. i. 4–7; 1 Pet. i. 3 with Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 14 with Rom. xii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 21 with Rom. iv. 24; 1 Pet. ii. 5 with Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7 with Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 10 with Rom. ix. 25, 26; 1 Pet. ii. 13 with Rom. xiii. 1–4; 1 Pet. ii. 16 with Gal. v. 13; 1 Pet. ii. 18 with Eph. vi. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 1 with Eph. v. 22; 1 Pet. iii. 9 with Rom. xii. 17; 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11 with Rom. xii. 6, 7; 1 Pet. v. 1 with Rom. viii. 18; 1 Pet. v. 5 with Eph. v. 21; 1 Pet. v. 8 with 1 Thess. v. 6. Then we meet with Pauline phrases such as ἐν Χριστῷ (1 Pet. iii. 16; v. 10, 14); the "revelation" of Christ for His second advent (i. 7, 13; iv. 13); καλεῖν used not in the gospel sense of the open invitation, but in the Pauline sense of the "effectual call"; instead of the ζωὴ αἰώνιος of Christ's teaching as the end of the gospel, the Pauline δόξα etc.[2]

It has been pointed out in reply that St. Peter was of a receptive nature, and liable to be influenced by the associations immediately surrounding him (*e.g.*, at Antioch, according to

[1] *Chronologie*, pp. 451–465.

[2] See HOLTZMANN, *Einleitung*, p. 317.

Galatians ii. 12). If he and St. Paul were much together in their later years he may have come to lean on the stronger apostle. But the author shows some originality.[1]

(2) It is improbable that Peter would have written to the churches of Asia, which had been the scenes of Paul's labours, without once naming the great apostle who had founded them and watched over them. His ministry was for the Jews, and indeed we cannot understand how he would go out of his way to address these churches of Gentiles at all—if the epistle were designed for such.[2]

(3) The indications of a comparatively late date seem to exclude St. Peter, and so does the mention of Babylon as the place of writing. But these objections do not hold together. If the date is late, Babylon may stand for Rome.

(4) It is said to be improbable that Peter, a fisherman of Galilee who spoke Aramaic, and who, according to Papias, needed an interpreter at Rome, should have written in the comparatively good Greek of this epistle. But we do not know in what sense Mark may have been "the interpreter" of Peter, nor do we know how far Greek was known in Palestine in N.T. times. It is remarkable that all our N.T. books are in Greek.

It must be admitted that these are serious reasons for questioning the Petrine authorship. If we hold the balance even we can scarcely allow that they count for nothing. To some students they may appear to be of overwhelming force. This is a case in which it cannot be wise to assume a very positive attitude. Criticism is teaching us that there are questions concerning which fairness and modesty suggest that they cannot be answered with assurance. Nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties, the striking testimony of early recognition, and the supreme excellence of the epistle still stand as strong reasons for believing in its authenticity.[3]

[1] See paragraph following "Contents."

[2] See below, page 445.

[3] Dr. McGiffert suggests Barnabas as possibly the author, since he was

b. *Date and Place of Origin.*—The fact that the epistle is addressed to a region where St. Paul had laboured compels us to date it later than the arrest of the apostle at Jerusalem (A.D. 58). The use of Romans also requires this, and the probable use of Ephesians brings it down at least to A.D. 62. Then the fact that two or more of Paul's epistles are known and used for this one document requires some longer time still. But if Peter wrote the epistle, we cannot go beyond A.D. 66, as it is most probable his martyrdom occurred no later. Professor Ramsay dates it in the reign of Domitian, and holds that Peter lived on till the year 80,[1] a most improbable idea. The principal reason for so late a date is found in the references to persecution which involved punishment for the Christian "name" (1 Peter iv. 13–15), apart from any accusation of specific crimes. This was not known in the period of Acts, though it was seen at the time of Trajan. On the other hand it refers to the persecution as a new thing (iv. 12), and St. Peter shows a friendly attitude to the state, and writes hopefully (ii. 13 ff.; iv. 7; v. 10). This is very different from the attitude of Revelation, with its bitter antagonism to Romans and its allusions to long continued persecution. Dr. McGiffert points out that we have here a reason for putting 1 Peter earlier than Revelation.[2] The question of the place of writing the epistle is closely connected with that concerning the date. It contains a salutation from "Babylon" (v. 13). If the epistle came later than Revelation, this might be the Babylon of that book, *i.e.*, Rome, although it would be strange to meet the mystical name in an epistle. There is good evidence

(1) one of the few companions of Paul who could fulfil the conditions in v. 1; (2) a missionary to Asia Minor, who might naturally write to that region; (3) known to Silvanus, who is referred to in v. 12 (see Acts xv. 25 ff.); (4) a near relative of Mark, whom the writer calls his "son" in v. 13 (see Col. iv. 10), and a favourite travelling companion (Acts xv. 37 ff.); (5) credited in the church with having written an epistle. *Apostolic Age*, pp. 599, 600.

[1] *Church in the Rom. Emp.*, p. 262 ff.

[2] *Apostolic Age*, p. 597.

that Peter was at Rome.[1] He was with Mark when the epistle was written (v. 14), and we know that Mark was invited to Rome during Paul's last imprisonment. (2 Timothy iv. 11.) But if this is earlier than Revelation, Babylon may be either the city of that name by the Euphrates, or the Egyptian Babylon (near the present Cairo).[2] We have no hint that Peter went to either place, and the Jewish colony at Babylon by the Euphrates was broken up and removed to Seleucia by this time. Still some Jews may have been left there.

c. *The Persons Addressed.* — These are called "elect sojourners of the dispersion," in districts that include the whole of Asia Minor north of the Taurus mountains. The question is whether the phrase is to be taken literally for Jews, *i.e.*, Jewish Christians, or figuratively for the scattered communities of Christians, chiefly Gentile. The latter is the more probable interpretation, for two reasons: (1) We have no evidence of the existence of any Jewish Christian churches in these parts. Jews and Christians mingled in the Pauline churches. (2) The language of the epistle implies that the readers had been pagan.[3]

(d) *Contents.*

i. 1, 2, Salutation, with a reminder of the Christian election, and its consequent sanctification.

3–5, Thanksgiving for the incorruptible inheritance.

6–9, The trial of faith supported by love for the unseen Christ.

10–12, The mystery of the predicted salvation through the sufferings of Christ.

[1] The following are the authorities: CLEM. R. (1 *Cor.* v.); DIONYSIUS of Corinth (EUSEB., *H.E.*, ii. 25); IRENÆUS (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 1); TERTULLIAN (*De Bapt.*, 4; *De Præscr.*, 36); CAIUS, of Rome, who refers to the trophies (τὰ τρόπαια) of Peter and Paul near Rome (EUSEB., *H.E.*, ii. 25); "The Preaching of Peter" (quoted by LACTANTIUS, *Institut. Divin.*, iv. 21); and of course many later writers.

[2] The Coptic Church has a traditional claim for this Babylon as the place of Peter's residence.

[3] See i. 14, 18; ii. 9, 10 (especially note, "which in time past were no people"); iii. 6; iv. 3.

13–25, Exhortation to holiness on the ground of redemption by the blood of Christ and the new life to which Christians are begotten.

ii. 1, 2, Exhortation to guilelessness.

3–10, Christ the living stone rejected by men, but honoured by God, on whom Christians are built to form a spiritual house.

11, 12, Duty to behave as sojourners and pilgrims.

13–17, Duty of obedience to the civil government in order to silence calumniators.

18–20, The duty of slaves to obey and endure patiently.

21–26, Example of the patience of Christ when He endured reviling and bore our sins.

iii. 1–6, Duty of wives, especially with respect to simplicity of dress.

7, Duty of husbands.

8–12, General duties of kindness and patience.

13–17, Suffering for well-doing commended.

18–20, Christ having suffered for sin, and being put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the Spirit, preaching to the spirits in prison who had been disobedient in the days of Noah.

21, 22, The cleansing of our conscience through the resurrection and ascension of Christ.

iv. 1–6, Consequent duty to have the mind that was in Christ, and abandon all the old heathenish abominations.

7–11, The end being at hand, soberness and prayer needed, but chiefly brotherly love, with the exercise of gifts to the glory of God.

12–19, Persecution not to be thought strange, but regarded as blessed if endured for the name of Christ, and not for any crime.

v. 1–4, Charge to the elders to be good pastors.

5, Charge to the younger members to be subject to the elders.

6–9, Duty of all to be humble, trustful in God's care, sober, watchful, steadfast.

10, 11, The final perfecting from God, to whom be the dominion for ever and ever.

12, The letter sent by Silvanus.

13, 14, Final salutations and benediction.

The epistle is hortatory throughout, and its doctrinal statements come in rather to enforce the practical advice than as distinct teaching. The persecution so frequently referred to is a great trial of faith and constancy, and St. Peter endeavours to encourage the sufferers with cheering assurances of their rich inheritance and stirring appeals to be worthy of their redemption, and make a good use of their privileges. It is to be observed that Peter lays great stress on the new birth (i. 3, 23; ii. 2); in this he is nearer to John than to Paul. He also dwells with much feeling on the redeeming work of Christ, connecting this more with the *sufferings* of Christ than is the case in St. Paul's epistles. The discussion of the behaviour of Christians is also original in this epistle.

3. **2 Peter.**

a. *Genuineness.*—The genuineness of this epistle has been more questioned than that of any other book in the N.T. Erasmus and Calvin expressed doubts concerning it, and in the present day many who may be regarded as conservative scholars feel compelled to join hands with advanced critics in regard to it. It stands on an entirely different ground from that of 1 Peter. It is very little referred to in early patristic literature. Even Irenæus fails us here. The first mention of the epistle is in Origen. Eusebius places it among the *Antilegomena*. It is not in the *Muratorian Fragment*, nor in the Peshitto.

2 Peter ii. 5 has been compared with Clement R., 1 *Cor.* 7; and 2 Peter ii. 6–9 with Clement R., 1 *Cor.* 2. But the connection is not certain, and if it exists the probability is that 2 Peter is dependent on Clement.[1] Possibly Justin Martyr knew the epistle (*c. Tryph.*, 81 compared with 2 Peter iii. 8); but the allusion may be to Psalm xc. 4. Hippolytus seems to have known it (*Refuta.*, ix. 2, x. 20). But he does not refer to its author. Origen, the first to name Peter in connection with

[1] See Dr. E. A. ABBOTT, in *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. iii., pp. 152, 153.

the epistle, says, "Peter speaks aloud by the two trumpets of his epistles."[1] But Eusebius quotes him as expressing doubts about it. "Peter . . . has left one epistle undisputed. Suppose also the second was left by him, for on this there is some doubt" (*H.E.*, vi. 25). Eusebius himself says of it, "As to the writings of Peter, one of his epistles, called the first, is acknowledged as genuine. . . . But that which is called the second we have not indeed received by tradition to be in the canon (ἐνδιάθηκον); yet as it appeared useful to many, it was studiously read with the other scriptures (γραφῶν, *H.E.*, iii. 3).

There is not much that can be appealed to as internal evidence in favour of the genuineness of the epistle. It claims to be written by Peter (i. 1; *cf.* iii. 1); commences with the same salutation as 1 Peter. But of course this could be designedly arranged by the writer, whoever he was, if he possessed 1 Peter.[2]

On the other hand there are very serious difficulties. (1) The early date, which it would be requisite to assign to the epistle if it were written by St. Peter, seems to be excluded by the reference to St. Paul's epistles as already collected, and as in *Scripture* (iii. 15, 16). 1 Peter used some of the Pauline epistles, and that fact was a difficulty in regard to it. But the case is much stronger here. All the usage of the early church is against the idea that these epistles were put on a level with the O.T., and regarded as Scripture during the lifetime of St. Peter. (2) The relation to Jude affords another grave difficulty. Nearly the whole of the short epistle of Jude is taken over and utilised in 2 Peter.

Compare	Jude	4	with 2 Peter	ii.	1–3
,,	,,	6	,,	,,	4
,,	,,	7	,,	,,	6
,,	,,	8	,,	,,	10
,,	,,	10	,,	,,	12
,,	,,	11	,,	,,	15
,,	,,	12, 13	,,	,,	13, 17
,,	,,	16	,,	,,	18
,,	,,	17, 18	,,	iii.	1–3

[1] But this is in the Latin translation of Rufinus, who confessedly amends the original (MIGNE, vol. ii., p. 857). For various other supposed references to 2 Peter, see GLOAG, *Introd. to the Cath. Epis.*, pp. 205-209; CHARTERIS, *Canonicity*, pp. 313-318.

[2] Still coincidences with the speeches in Acts may be noted, *e.g.*, compare 2 Peter ii. 15 with Acts i. 18—"wages of iniquity"; 2 Peter iii. 10 with Acts ii. 20—"the day of the Lord"; 2 Peter iv. 24 with Acts iv. 24—δεσπότης for Christ in the epistle, for God in Acts; but the original speech was in Aramaic.

The priority must be assigned to Jude, *e.g.*, 2 Peter ii. 4 is less distinct than Jude 6, which gives the ground of the condemnation of the angels; and 2 Peter ii. 11 is really unintelligible without Jude 9, a mere allusion to what is there stated. In 2 Peter we read "*whereas* angels . . . bring not a railing judgment, etc.," the word "whereas" assuming something known. The passage in Jude gives the case of Michael, when he durst not bring a railing accusation against the devil, and puts it quite clearly. Moreover Jude is a brief, crisp epistle, while 2 Peter is less firm and strong in style; and in these respects Jude appears to be the original. In favour of the priority of 2 Peter, it is urged that in this epistle the false teachers are yet to come (ii. 1–3; iii. 3), while in Jude they are already present (4). But even according to 2 Peter some are already present (ii. 10 ff.).[1]

Now we have seen that 1 Peter made use of earlier writings. But it is one thing to lean upon Paul and even James, and another thing to absorb and utilise virtually the whole of the short epistle of so obscure a writer as Jude. In defending the genuineness of 2 Peter we accuse the great apostle Peter of plagiarising in a remarkable way. (3) In style and thought it differs greatly from 1 Peter. The style of 1 Peter is excellent; that of 2 Peter most awkward. And while 1 Peter is saturated with Paulinism, this is not apparent in 2 Peter. The sufferings of Christ and the thought of redemption, which are so prominent in the earlier epistle, are not brought forward in this. The writer claims to have been a witness, but of the glory. Of course, if St. Peter did not write 1 Peter, this is no objection to the genuineness of 2 Peter; but the evidence for 1 Peter is immeasurably stronger than that for 2 Peter. Seeing that the epistle is very weakly attested by the Fathers, and that it was always the most doubtful book of the N.T., we have little to bring in answer to these strong objections; and the balance seems to be in favour of denying its genuineness. It is impossible to say who wrote it. The very emphasis with which Peter's name is claimed and this epistle linked to 1 Peter, itself a suspicious fact, shows that the author desired to use the apostle's authority for what he wrote.

Mr. Vernon Bartlet suggests a compromise, viz., that ii.–iii. 7 was introduced by a later hand into a genuine epistle of St. Peter's.

b. *Occasion and Date of Authorship.*—One object is to counteract certain false teachers. The language both of 2 Peter and of Jude is too indefinite to enable us to decide for certain

[1] Dr. E. A. Abbott has shown that 2 Peter made use of Josephus.

who these are—probably those constant disturbers of the churches, the earlier gnostics, Cainites or Ophites.[1] But the writer has further the positive object of endeavouring to stimulate the efforts of his readers to acquire true knowledge. The right gnosis must oppose the false gnosis. "Knowledge" is the keynote of 2 Peter. The reference to St. Paul's epistles as Scripture requires quite a late date—probably the middle of the second century.[2]

c. *The Persons Addressed.*—The epistle is quite general, with no particular address, except that it is for Christians—"them that have obtained a like precious faith with us" (i. 1).

d. *Contents.*

i. 1–2, General salutation.

3–11, Exhortation to progress in the successive acquisition of Christian graces.

12–21, Reminder of the truth of the Christian teaching, confirmed by the Divine testimony to Christ and the light of prophecy.

ii., The false prophets and their evil practices.

iii. 1–7, Rebuke for those who disbelieve in the final judgment.

8–13, The coming of the Lord and the destruction of the world.

14–18, Exhortations to diligence, patience, and growth in grace.

4. **Jude.**

a. *The Author.*—The author of this brief epistle introduces himself as "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." He can scarcely be the apostle Jude (perhaps the same as Thaddæus and Lebbæus), although that apostle is related to a James,[3] because not only does he not claim to be

[1] Mansel suggests the Nicolaitans of Rev. ii. 15 as denying Christ and inculcating immorality. But would such be actually teachers *within* the churches?

[2] HARNACK places it A.D. 160–175, *Chronologie*, pp. 465–470.

[3] Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου (Luke vi. 15), "Jude of James," rendered "brother of James" in A.V., evidently on the ground of this epistle, but "son of James" in R.V., according to the general usage of the idiom.

an apostle, but by designating himself only with relation to his brother he excludes any such authority as would arise from his being one of the Twelve; besides, he refers to "the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ" as former teachers, among whom he does not include himself (17, 18). It is more likely that he is a brother of the well-known James, head of the church at Jerusalem; and if so, also a brother of our Lord. We can understand his not claiming the higher relationship. The fact that he takes this modest position makes for the genuineness of the epistle; and so does the fact that so little known a man appears as its author.[1] Who would wish to pass off a pseudonymous epistle as the work of a man whose identity it would be difficult to fix? This epistle was often referred to in the church of the later part of the second century. It was known to Clement of Alexandria,[2] and Tertullian,[3] both of whom cite it by name; and it is in the *Muratorian Fragment.*

The epistle is quite general, being addressed simply "to them that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ" (1); but it presupposes that its readers had been instructed by the apostles (17), a fact which would point to Palestine or Syria as the more probable region in which it would be first circulated. The references to Jewish apocryphal works also suggest the same area, where they would be best known. The work must be comparatively late to allow of the false teachings to which it refers having crept in, but there is nothing to exclude the lifetime of a brother of James.

The chief indications of a later date are (1) *The reference to the teaching of the apostles* (17). Certainly that is spoken of as past; but then it is supposed to be in the memory of the readers, not as a tradition, but as what they had themselves heard, though an earlier phrase—"the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" (3) *might* be taken to indicate tradition. (2) *The corrupt teaching.*—This is said to be Ophite or Cainite—"for they went in the way of Cain" (11)—*i.e.*, gnostic of the

[1] There is no direct evidence for the theory that the author of the epistle was Judas Barsabas (Acts xv. 22, 23); but as this Jude is called "a chief man among the brethren" at Jerusalem, it must be allowed to be possible.

[2] *Paedag.*, iii. 8.

[3] *De Cultu. femin.* i. 3.

early second century. "The error of Balaam" suggests the Nicolaitans (Rev. ii. 14, 15.) Still, as we know there were later Cainites, the pointed reference to Cain cannot but raise a suspicion of an allusion to these heretics. But then Cain is mentioned for warning in 1 John iii. 12; and also in Heb. xi. 4, the latter undoubtedly earlier than the Cainites.

The author's object is to denounce the corrupt teaching and warn his readers against it. This teaching has two evils. It encourages immorality, and it denies "our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ."

b. *Contents.*

1, 2, Salutation.

3, 4, The teaching originally received to be maintained against the false teachers.

5–7, Warnings from the punishment of the Israelites, of fallen angels, of Sodom and Gomorrah.

8–10, Railing at dignities rebuked from the example of Michael.

11–13, Denunciation of the corrupters who go in the way of Cain and Balaam, and spoil the *Agapè* feasts.

14–16, These false teachers in accordance with the prophecy of Enoch.

17–19, Reminder that the apostles had predicted such teachers.

20, 21, Duty of edification in the love of God, and hoping for the mercy of Christ.

22, 23, Every effort to be made to save men.

24, 25, Concluding doxology to the God who can keep from stumbling.

Origen found the reference to Michael in the "Assumption of Moses" (*De Principiis*, iii. 2), on which Jude here draws.

The reference to Enoch is found in the Book of Enoch i. 9. Both of these are Jewish apocryphal works,[1] though the latter has been converted into a Christian book with many interpolations.

5. **1 John.**

a. *Authorship.*—As in the case of Jude the question of the authorship of 1 John is not merely whether the epistle is genuine and the work of the man whose name is associated with it, but also as to who that man is, seeing that it is an

[1] See CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 42.

anonymous writing, the title, of course, in this case, as in all other cases, being not part of the original work. And even when the very ancient tradition that connects it with the name of John is accepted, we are still able to ask which John—the apostle, or the elder?[1] It is almost certain that this epistle was written by the author of the fourth gospel, the same peculiar style and special ideas appearing most conspicuously in both.

Among phrases which connect the epistle with the gospel we have frequent references to life and truth, and such expressions as "to do the truth," "to be of the truth," "to be of God," "to be of the world," "to be of the devil," "to have eternal life," "to conquer the world" (compare 1 John iv. 4 ff. with John xvii. 14); "the only begotten Son" (compare 1 John iv. 9 with John i. 14, 18). Pfleiderer[2] following Baur objects (1) that the "antichrists" of the epistle (ii. 18) do not appear in the gospel; (2) that ἱλασμός, twice applied to Christ in the epistle (ii. 2; iv. 10), does not occur in the gospel. But can we argue thus *a silentio*, when there is no proof that the gospel had occasion to introduce these ideas? Besides, the gospel describes Christ as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29), which really contains the ἱλασμός idea. Further, in the epistle the Paraclete is Christ (1 John ii. 1), while in the gospel He is the Holy Ghost (John xiv. 16). But then in the gospel the Holy Ghost is described as "another Paraclete," which implies that Christ too is a Paraclete. It is true there is a difference in the ideas of the Paraclete—in the epistle Christ is our advocate with the Father, in the gospel the Holy Ghost directly helps us; but there is no inconsistency here.

This makes the importance of the authorship of the epistle very great. But since what has been already considered in regard to the gospel applies to the epistle, and since it was necessary to refer to this work when discussing questions concerning the gospel,[3] we need not go over the ground again. It is sufficient to notice certain points specifically related to the epistle. Though the author nowhere designates himself an apostle, he claims to be an eye-witness of the gospel events and a personal disciple of Jesus Christ (i. 1–3); and he writes with authority and fatherly affection for his readers. Very early testimony connects the work with John, the son of Zebedee, and there is no ancient witness for any other authorship. The epistle was known to Polycarp and Papias. Irenæus is the first to cite it by name. It is in the

[1] See page 337. [2] *Urchristenthum*, pp. 791 ff. [3] See page 328 ff.

Muratorian Fragment. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian referred it to John.

Polycarp writes: "For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is antichrist (*Ad Phil.*, 7), plainly derived from 1 John iv. 3. Eusebius says that Papias "made use of testimonies (κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις) from the first epistle of John." (*H.E.*, iii. 39.) Irenæus writes: "For this reason he (John) thus testified to us in his epistle: Little children, it is the last time," etc. (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 16. 5. Compare 1 John ii. 18.)[1]

The apostolic authorship of the epistle has been objected to on the ground of its alleged "feebleness." That there is great simplicity in the phrasing may be allowed, and also that there is a habit of repetition, which may be set down to the advanced age of the writer, is also not to be denied. And yet we must not be deluded into the supposition that the underlying thought is not of great value. We have here some of the most precious teaching of the N.T., *e.g.*, concerning the love of God, brotherly love, Christ's propitiation for sin, eternal life. Then it has been objected that second century gnosticism is referred to. It is true the author contends against Docetism, the teaching that denied the corporal reality of the incarnation (iv. 2); but he makes no allusion to the specific ideas of the great gnostic systems of Valentinus and Basilides, who wrote early in the second century. The error he contends against may be that of Cerinthus, which appeared before the end of the first century.[2]

b. *Date and Place of Writing.*—1 John was written in a time of peace, as it contains no allusion to persecution. The references to doctrinal error suggest a late date in the apostolic era. Avoiding the Domitian persecution, we must assign it either to an earlier period, or more probably to the time after that persecution was over. It gives no hint

[1] See also *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 16. 8; for Clement see *Strom.* ii. 15; *Paedag.*, iii. 11; for Origen see EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 25; *De Orat.*, Opp., tom. i., p. 233; for Tertullian see *Adv. Prax.*, 15.

[2] Baur thought he saw a reference to Montanism in the "sin unto death" (1 John v. 16), corresponding with the mortal sins described by Tertullian (*De Pudic.*, 19). But might not Montanism seek its authority in this very passage?

of any locality where it was written. Probably it came from Ephesus, since John lived there.

c. *Persons Addressed and Occasion of Writing.*—This book is not in the form of a letter, and yet it is not like a treatise, as some have said, for it contains direct hortatory appeals. We can better compare it to a pastoral,[1] especially aimed at correcting false ideas about the incarnation, but largely practical, to inculcate obedience to the commandments of Christ, and brotherly love.

d. *Contents.*

i. 1–4, Introduction, promising to give the readers the knowledge of the Word of Life, of which the writer has had personal experience.

5–10, The message that God is light, and our fellowship with Him dependent on walking in light. Still if we confess sin, it will be forgiven through the blood of Christ.

ii. 1–6, Christ the propitiation, whom we know if we keep His commandments.

7–11, The old commandment, and the new. Love of one's brother a necessary condition of walking in the light.

12, 13, The messages to children, fathers, young men.

14–17, On the vanity of loving the world.

18–23, Antichrist and the denial of Christ.

24–29, Abiding in Christ.

iii. 1–3, The love of God in calling us His children, and its purifying hope.

4–12, Christ manifested to take away sin, and lead us to love one another, in the opposite character to Cain's.

13–22, Love of the brethren the sign that we have passed from death into life.

23, 24, The commandments to believe in the name of Christ, and love one another.

iv. 1–6, Trying the spirits.

7–16, The duty to love another, because God is love.

17–21, The perfecting of love, and its victory over fear.

v. 1–5, The victory over the world through faith in Christ.

[1] See WESTCOTT, *The Epistles of St. John*, Introd., p. 30.

6–13, The three witnesses and life eternal in Christ.
14–17, Prayer for the sinner.
18–21, The new life in God and in His Son.

6. **2 John.**

a. *Authorship.*—The writer describes himself as "the elder," but without giving any name. Therefore some[1] have assigned this epistle and 3 John, which is similar in address, to the presbyter John, even while allowing 1 John to be by the apostle. But the resemblance in style between the three epistles is too close to allow of the probability of diversity of authorship. As 2 John has no name, it could not in any case be called "a forgery," and it is too simple and practical to admit of any question of its genuineness. It has very early attestation to its connection with the name of John, certainly in Irenæus, probably in the *Muratorian Fragment.*

Irenæus certainly quotes verse 7 of this epistle, though with an expression that might suggest his only knowing one epistle of John, saying, "And John the disciple of the Lord, in his epistle . . . when he says, for many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh; this is a deceiver and an antichrist." (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 16. 8.) The *Muratorian Fragment* refers to *two* epistles of John. Probably this is one of them. It was known to Clement[2] and Origen,[3] who, however, while admitting that John wrote the first epistle, expresses doubts as to his authorship of the second and third.

b. *Destination.*—The epistle is addressed to "the elect lady."[4] It is a question whether this expression is to be taken literally, or figuratively for a church. In favour of the former interpretation are (1) the simplicity of the epistle, (2) the references to the elect lady's children (verses 1, 4), (3) the analogy of 3 John, which is addressed to one man, Gaius, (4) the mention of the elect lady's house (verse 10). On the other hand, in favour of the latter interpretation—understanding the phrase to stand figuratively for some church—(1) it must be allowed that the purpose and contents of the epistle

[1] See *e.g.*, EBRARD, *Com. Introd.*

[2] *Strom.*, ii. 15; EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 14.

[3] EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vi. 26.

[4] Ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, which might also be rendered either "the elect Kyria," "lady Eclectè."

are more suitable to that application. We have warnings against antichrist and exhortations to love, very like those in 1 John, which was not directed to a private person. (2) John not only refers to children of the elect lady who are with her, but also to others whom he has met, leading us to think of a greater number than the children of one woman. (3) The elect sister and her children (verse 13) seem to be another church. The house could be that where the church met; churches then assembled in private houses. On the whole, therefore, it seems best to take the expression "elect lady" figuratively as the half playful description of a church.

c. *Occasion, Date, and Place of Writing.*—The special object of this brief letter is to warn the "elect lady and her children" against deceivers who deny the incarnation; at the same time they are exhorted to keep to the original commandments, especially that of brotherly love. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that puts this epistle after 1 John; but the similarity of tone suggests that it was written about the same time, *i.e.*, towards the end of the first century, and probably at Ephesus.

d. *Contents.*

1–3, Salutation.

4, Thanksgiving for certain of the elect lady's children whom John has found walking in the truth.

5, 6, A reminder of the old commandments, especially that requiring brotherly love.

7–11, The antichrist deceivers who deny the incarnation not to be received into the house or acknowledged with a greeting.

12, The writer, expecting to visit his correspondents, will not say more now.

13, Final salutation.

7. 3 John.

a. *Authorship.*—This epistle, which is addressed to one man, the hospitable Gaius, opens exactly in the same way as its predecessor, the writer introducing himself simply as "the elder." It is not much referred to in early church literature;

but the absence of any doctrinal statements and the fact that it was addressed to a private individual account for the neglect of it. There is no good reason to doubt that it was written by the author of 2 John.

Hilgenfeld and Holtzmann follow Baur in assigning the epistle to the author of 2 John, though placing it in the second century.[1]

It was known to Origen, who expressed doubts concerning it as well as concerning 2 John. (Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 25.) Eusebius accepts it, though he places it among the *Antilegomena.* (*H.E.*, iii. 25.) It is in the Old Latin, but not in the Peshitto.

b. *Occasion, Date, and Place of Authorship.*—It would appear that the special object of this epistle was to commend a man named Demetrius to Gaius; so that it may be regarded as one of those "letters of commendations" that were used in apostolic and later times.[2] Having thus occasion to write, John avails himself of it further to congratulate his friend on the hospitality this good man is practising to Christians who come to him as strangers. Referring to some previous letter that he has sent to the church, he sternly rebukes a certain Diotrephes for his ambition and tyranny. This epistle may be assigned to the same time and place as 2 John, *i.e.*, towards the end of the first century at Ephesus. Some persecution has recently been experienced (verse 7), probably that of Domitian.

c. *Persons Mentioned.*—(1) Gaius.—We meet with a Gaius at Corinth. (1 Cor. i. 14.) Possibly the same man is referred to in Romans xvi. 23, as that was written from Corinth. Here St. Paul calls him "my host." The common characteristic of hospitality faintly suggests identity with our Gaius. But hospitality was common in the early church, and St. Paul must have stayed somewhere. Besides, this epistle comes quite thirty years later than Romans. We also meet with a Gaius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29), and another of Derbe in Lycaonia (xx. 4). The name was common, being a Greek form of the Latin "Caius." At the late period of our epistle most likely it denotes some person not otherwise known to us,

[1] See also JÜLICHER, *Einleitung*, pp. 159, 160, for proofs of the common authorship of the two epistles.

[2] *e.g.*, see 2 Cor. iii. 1.

possibly a prosperous Christian in whose house a church was accustomed to meet. (2) Diotrephes.—All we know of this man is what the epistle suggests. He was a member of the church with which Gaius was connected. It has been inferred that he was a presbyter, and though no title is given him, not only the fact of his loving the pre-eminence—which might be the case with any ambitious person—but his tyranny, point to a post of influence. This man was going about maligning the author of the epistle, and generally doing his worst to break up the church. (3) Demetrius. — Some Christian on his travels about to visit the place where Gaius lives, who is therefore commended to him for a brotherly reception by the church.

d. *Contents.*

1, Salutation from "the elder" to Gaius.

2–4, Good wishes for the health of Gaius, with congratulations that he is walking "in the truth."

5–8, The hospitality of Gaius, especially to fugitive Christians who were driven from their homes by persecution.

9–12, The opposition of the ambitious Diotrephes and his tyrannous conduct, both in refusing admission to new comers and his expulsion of members from the church.

13, 14, Concluding personal matters and salutation.

There is no theology in this epistle. The first and second epistles have much common Johannine teaching. They dwell with emphasis on the Incarnation, repudiating any who deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh as "antichrist." It would seem that the "heresy" was that of Cerinthus, who asserted that Jesus was a man on whom the Christ, or according to another version, the Holy Spirit, descended at His baptism, deserting Him at the crucifixion. John insists on the reality of the Incarnation. This brings us eternal life, which is in God's Son, so that he who has the Son has life, and he who has not the Son of God has not the life. God is light and love. Our duty is to walk in the light and in love, especially in that love of our brother without which we cannot love God, and must remain in darkness.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVELATION

1. Apocalyptic Literature.
2. Authorship and Origin. History of Criticism. Date.
3. Contents.
4. Structure and Interpretation.

1. Apocalyptic Literature.

The Apocalypse stands apart from all other books of the N.T., with none of which we can compare it. Yet it is not unique in literature. In external form and style it is similar to some works that were much read and highly valued at the time when it was written. There was a number of Jewish Apocalypses, and these were followed by several Christian Apocalypses.

The origination of this literature may be traced back to the book of Daniel, the second portion of which may be regarded as the earliest Apocalypse. Recent discoveries have brought to light the *Book of Enoch*, the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, etc. among Jewish works. The fragment of the so-called *Apocalypse of Peter* which we possess comes from a later time, and is a Christian writing of the same class.

To point out this fact, however, is not to put our book of the Revelation on a level with the contemporary works, any more than to point out the epistolary form of St. Paul's writings is to place those writings on a level with Cicero's or Pliny's letters. Some portions of Revelation at all events command our reverence as among the loftiest, most inspired utterances of the N.T.; and the book as a whole stands quite apart from other works of its class in spiritual significance, thus justifying its place in the Canon.

2. Authorship and Origin.

The Apocalypse has been generally assigned to the apostle John, and regarded as a record of the visions that were given

to him from heaven while he was an exile on the isle of Patmos in the reign of Domitian. There is much in the book itself that harmonises with this popular conception, and in our own day till quite recently the apostolic authorship was universally accepted among critics of all schools. But new ideas about the book have now been brought up, and old objections of patristic times revived. Therefore we need to look into the question of its authorship afresh.

a. *The Testimony of Antiquity.*—This book is one of the best attested of early times. It was known to Justin Martyr and Irenæus as the work of the apostle, and it was admitted by Papias. In the West it was unanimously accepted as St. John's. It was slower in obtaining full recognition in the East.

Justin Martyr writes: "There was a certain man among us whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation," etc., and then he mentions the prediction of the millennium. (*Tryph.* 81.) Irenæus quotes our *Revelation* as from "John the disciple of the Lord." (*Adv. Haer.*, iv. 20.) This is especially important because of Irenæus' intimate knowledge of John's disciple, Polycarp.[1] Two Cappadocian bishops, Andrew and Arethas, probably of the fifth century, tell us that Papias looked upon the book as inspired (*θεόπνευστος*) and credible (*ἀξιόπιστος*).[2] The Apocalypse was accepted by the churches of Lyons and Vienne. (Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 1, 2.) It seems to have been known to Hermas.[3] Eusebius cites Melito of Sardis as acknowledging it (*H.E.*, iv. 26), and so does Jerome. (*De Vir. Ill.* 24). But the Apocalypse is not in the Peshitto. It was rejected by the *Alogi*,[4] who also rejected the gospel of John, and on critical grounds denied to the apostle by Dionysius of Alexandria. Eusebius seems to accept it as the apostle's, and as among the undisputed books (*ὁμολογούμενα*, *H.E.*, iii. 25); but subsequently he suggests that it may have been written by John the presbyter. (*H.E.*, iii. 39.)

b. *Internal Evidence.*—The book claims to be a revelation which God gave to His servant John (i. 1), and in addressing the seven churches the writer twice calls himself John (i. 4, 9). The name does not appear in the body of the work; but we meet with it once again in the last chapter (xxii. 8). John is

[1] See page 330.

[2] See CHARTERIS *Canonicity*, pp. 338, 339.

[3] *Vis.* i. 3. 2; 4. 1; ii. 2, 7; ii. 4. 1; iii. 5. 1; iv. 1, 10; 2. 1; 2. 4; *Mand.* x. 3. 2.

[4] See page 333.

a common Jewish name, and there is nothing in the description of the writer to fix upon Zebedee's son in particular. In fact the indications are rather adverse to that conclusion. St. John's habit in the gospel is not to give his name as it is given here. The author of Revelation never refers to Christ in the way so intimate a friend as the beloved disciple would naturally be expected to do, but remotely. Then he never calls himself an apostle, and he mentions the "twelve apostles" in a manner that does not include himself among them (xxi. 14), while he represents the angel as reckoning him among the "prophets" (xxii. 9), who, as we learn especially from the *Didachè*, were an order in the Church quite distinct from the apostles. Of course, in writing such a book as Revelation, John the apostle could be designated a prophet, for this book would be regarded as prophecy. Still, if we had not the evidence of ancient writers in favour of the apostle, there would be no sufficient reason why we should assign the book to Zebedee's son, and considerable reason for relegating it to some other author. There is a growing opinion in the present day that the apostle was not the author. We know what a strong tendency there was in the early church to ascribe works by unknown or obscure writers to apostles and other well-known men.[1] If we could allow this to be the case with Revelation, the serious difficulty of believing that the same man wrote the fourth gospel would disappear, and we should have one great stumbling-block to the Johannine authorship of that work removed. Still the question cannot be considered definitely settled. If the apostle did not write Revelation, the most likely man to be its author is the presbyter John, a contemporary at Ephesus.[2]

While the fourth gospel is in fairly good Greek, Revelation is the most Hebraistic book in the N.T. It even contains distinct barbarisms such as the nominative case for the accusative (vii. 9), and the accusative for the nominative (xx. 2). It is true there are certain resemblances between the

[1] It is a fact that every other known apocalypse was not written by the person to whom it was assigned.

[2] Known to us from Papias, EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, iii. 39.

two works. In Revelation Christ appears twenty-five times as the Lamb (*ἀρνίον*); in John He is the "Lamb of God" (but *ἀμνός*, another Greek word, John i. 29). So he appears as the bridegroom (Revelation xix. 7; xxi. 2—compare John iii. 29); and the *Logos* (Revelation xix. 13; compare John i. 1). But then, if John the elder is the author, it still comes from the Johannine school at Ephesus.

c. *History of Criticism.* — The apostolic authorship of Revelation was not only denied by Epiphanius's obscure *Alogi*, of whom we know too little to take them into account, but also by Dionysius of Alexandria, who laid down the lines that subsequent criticism has followed. The ground taken by Dionysius was the marked difference of style between the Apocalypse and the gospel of John. Accepting the gospel as beyond question, the Alexandrian critic decided that Revelation must have been written by some other John. In support of his view he mentioned the fact that there were two monuments or tombs in Ephesus with the name of John.[1] But little heed was paid to Dionysius's argument until the beginning of the present century, when it was turned round by opponents of the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel, and used to discredit that work, Baur and his followers in the Tübingen school accepting Revelation as the work of the apostle John. More recently doubts have been thrown on its integrity, and through the analysis of its contents it has been suggested that they come from various sources, some of these being Jewish, also that the various portions of it bear evidence of having been written at different times. There is a growing agreement among scholars that it is a composite work. Still that does not preclude the apostolic authorship, because the apostle may have used the work of previous apocalyptic writers; neither does it exclude the idea that the John of Revelation is presbyter John.

In the year 1882 Weizsäcker wrote maintaining that Revelation is a compilation containing some materials of a very early date; and he was followed by Völker, who divided the work into five parts, written at different times. Then Vischer started the idea that Revelation was a translation into Greek of a Jewish apocalypse written in Hebrew before A.D. 70, the introduction, conclusion, and slight interpolations in the text being added by a Christian writer towards the end of the century. A

[1] *μνήματα.* EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, vii. 24, 25.

Dutch scholar, Weyland, worked out independently a similar theory, but looking for two Jewish sources, one of the time of Nero, the other of the time of Titus, and assigning the Christian revision to the age of Trajan. Pfleiderer virtually holds to Weyland's position. Sabatier and Schoen modified these theories by regarding the Apocalypse as a Christian work based on Jewish predecessors. The question is elaborately discussed by Spitta, who comes to the conclusion that the Christian kernel of Revelation was written by John Mark about A.D. 60, and that subsequently a Christian editor united this work with two Jewish apocalypses—one as early as Pompey (63 B.C.), the other of the time of Caligula. In the year 1895 Gunkel introduced a new element into the discussion by tracing back parts of Revelation to the "*Tiamat* myth" in the Babylonian epic of the creation. Chapter xii. in particular is assigned to this Babylonian source, adopted into Jewish traditions before it passed into apocalyptic literature. In the new edition of Meyer's *Commentary*, Bousset defends the unity of the book, but holds that it was based on previous Jewish writings, agreeing however with Gunkel that chapter xii. could not have had a Jewish origin. Harnack considers that the work is composite. The earlier stratum he holds to have been written under Nero or his successor, on the evidence of Revelation xvii. 9–11, and the final editing done in the reign of Domitian.[1] Among English and American writers Professor Milligan defended the unity and Christian origin of the book; and Professor Briggs regards it as a Christian work, but composite in nature as follows: Edition 1 has the Seals, Trumpets and Bowls. Edition 2 adds the Epistles. Edition 3 brings in the Beasts and the Dragon. A redactor follows with i. 1–3; xxii. 18–20, and many notes inserted throughout the work. McGiffert and Bacon hold that the author made large use of earlier materials.[2]

d. *Date and Place of Origin.*—If we are to accept the theory of a composite nature for Revelation, the question of date or dates becomes rather complicated. But then this theory will explain some of the difficult problems about the subject. Leaving out of reckoning the age of the traditional elements which may have come down in Jewish circles from the time of the Babylonian captivity, we have still indications of several dates. Chapter xiii. 1–10 seems to point to the time of Caligula, in that emperor's attempt to compel the Jews to worship his image. Possibly also all the Apocalypse of the beasts should be assigned to that time. Then xvii. 9–11 seems to set the Apocalypse of the Vials in the reign of Nero or Galba, according as we count the five emperors from Julius Cæsar or Augustus. Next, xi. 8 assumes that Jerusalem is still standing. That must be before A.D. 70. But Professor Ramsay

[1] *Chronologie*, vol. i., pp. 245, 246, 679.

[2] *Apos. Age*, pp. 633 ff. For an admirable survey of the recent criticism see *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1898.

argues that the hostility to Rome and the picture of the church under persecution point to a still later period.[1] This would lead us on to the period assigned by Irenæus, the reign of Domitian, about A.D. 90, or a little later for the most recent portions of the book. There is no reason to doubt that the vision of chapter i., etc., was in Patmos, as the author tells us (i. 9). The full construction of the book, weaving in the earlier with the later materials, may be set down to Ephesus, where, according to every ancient witness, both Johns were living.

3. **Contents.**

a. *Title and description*, i. 1–3.

b. *The Seven Churches*, i. 4–iii. 22.

i. 4–20, The vision of the Son of man.

ii., iii., The letters to the seven churches.

c. *The Apocalypse of the Seals*, iv. 1–viii. 1.

iv., v., The vision of the Divine glory and of the Lamb that was slain.

vi. 1–viii. 1, The opening of the seven seals. The sealing of the 144,000. The innumerable multitude.

d. *The Apocalypse of the Trumpets*, viii. 2–xi. 19.

viii. 2–5, The vision of the seven angels, and the incense of the prayers of the saints.

6–ix. 21, The sounding of the trumpets and the woes that follow.

x., The angel with the little book, which the seer is to eat.

xi. 1–14, The measuring of the temple. The two witnesses. Great woes for Jerusalem.

14–19, The seventh trumpet.

e. *The Apocalypse of the Woman and the Dragon*, xii. (Said to be founded on a Babylonish myth.)

f. *The Apocalypse of the Beasts*, xiii.

g. *The Lamb with the* 144,000 *redeemed. God's judgment and mercy*, xiv.

[1] Rev. vi. 9, 11; vii. 14; xii. 11; xiii. 15; xvi. 6; xvii. 6; xviii. 24; xx. 4, etc. See *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 295–302.

h. *The Apocalypse of the Vials*, xv.–xvi.

xv. 1–4, The victors' song of triumph.

5–xvi. 21, The outpouring of the seven vials.

i. *The Fall of Babylon*, xvii.–xx. (Prophecy referring to Rome and the emperors.)

xvii., The beast with the seven heads and ten horns.

xviii., The overthrow of Babylon.

xix., The war of the Word of God with the Beast.

xx., Closing scenes: (1) Millennial peace; (2) outbreak of Satan; (3) universal judgment.

j. *The final glory*, xxi, xxii.

xxi.–xxii. 7, The heavenly city.

xxii. 8–21, Admonitions and encouragements.

4. **The Structure and Interpretation of the Book.**

a. *Its Structure.*—The composite nature of Revelation already referred to seems to be indicated at the very commencement. It has three introductions: (1) i. 1–3 is an introduction to the whole book; (2) i. 4–8 is an introduction to the letters to the seven churches; (3) i. 9 also indicates a fresh beginning. Then the letters to the seven churches are wholly different from the succeeding visions. There is much in this part of the book that harmonises with the last two chapters, where John's name occurs again. These portions contain some of the most valuable inspired utterances of the N.T. It is when we come to deal with the central portions of the book that our difficulties begin. Here also we come upon hymns of the church, references to the Lamb, allusions to Christian martyrdom, and other signs that, wherever the author obtained his materials, he aimed at converting the whole into one work, and that a Christian Apocalypse.

b. *Interpretation.*—Of course the question of the origin and structure of the book must govern our views of its interpretation. If pre-existing Jewish traditional lore and earlier writings were used by the author as materials, we are face to face with a very difficult question when we ask how far he assimilated those materials, and gave them his own

interpretation. It seems almost hopeless to go farther back and ask what were the original meanings of the pre-existing materials. But in regard to both questions of interpretation we are helped by the analogy of the Jewish Apocalypses that have been preserved to our own day, which would lead us to reject the notion that every item has a distinct mystical or symbolical meaning. Imagination runs riot with the elaborate fancies of this marvellous book, although perhaps those fancies were never intended to be interpreted prosaically into specific significations. Great general ideas run through the succession of visions — seals, trumpets, vials; ideas that are in harmony with apocalyptic literature generally, and the same recur in the more evidently Christian portions of the book. It was always in some time of trouble that a Jewish Apocalypse appeared, and then it aimed at encouraging the sufferers with faith in God's final judgment of their foes and deliverance of His people. Similar ideas run through our N.T. Apocalypse. There is present persecution; a great conflict is impending; God will interfere through His angels; Christ will come to smite and judge the evil powers and save His people. We need not take the succession of visions of judgment in chronological sequence, as indicative of a historical series of events. The same idea is repeated in many forms. Two definite historical applications appear in the course of the book. The judgment of Jerusalem (xi.), written when the Jews were the chief enemies of the Christians; and the judgment of Rome (xvii.–xix.), written later when Rome was their antagonist. But for the rest we have the ideas of conflict, judgment, and deliverance set forth again and again in a rich variety of imagery to impress upon us their force and truth.

If this be at all a right conception of the nature of the book, it will be seen that the various popular forms of exposition are out of keeping with its aim and meaning. These are classified as follows :—(1) The Præterist, which sees all the references to events in the past, contemporary or almost contemporary with the writing. This ignores the general character of apocalyptic literature, which all points to a final judgment, yet it is

right with regard to many parts of the Apocalypse. (2) The Historical, which takes the book as a sort of chart of the centuries of history down to our time and beyond. (3) The Futurist, which holds that all is mysterious, because none is yet fulfilled. (4) The Ideal, which denies any historical references. We have seen that there are definite historical allusions in several parts. When these occur, they all refer to contemporary history, and give no justification for the second school of interpretation. The third school is so far correct, that a final judgment is contemplated. Yet the same process recurs again and again earlier—with Jerusalem, with Rome, with any city or people similarly situated, on to the end of time, when at last Christ will triumph, and a pure and happy state of society prevail among men.

APPENDIX A

EARLY WITNESSES TO NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS

Clement of Rome. A Bishop of Rome. *Epistle to Corinthians* . . .	*c.* A.D. 95.
[**Barnabas.**] *Epistle*, wrongly attributed to Barnabas	between A.D. 96 and 120.
Didachè. "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," an ancient church manual	*c.* A.D. 100.
Hermas. *The Shepherd*, an allegorical work	*c.* A.D. 130–160.
Ignatius. Bishop of Antioch and Martyr. 7 *epistles*	*c.* A.D. 115.
Marcion. From Pontus, formed his own Canon	A.D. 144.
Polycarp. Bishop of Smyrna and Martyr. *Epistle to Philippians* . . .	ob. A.D. 155.
Epistle to Diognetus. Anonymous . .	middle of 2nd cent.
Papias. Bishop of Hierapolis. *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord.* Only fragments, preserved by Eusebius	first half of 2nd cent.
Justin Martyr. Apologist. 1 *and* 2 *Apologies and Dialogue with Trypho* .	*c.* A.D. 155.
Tatian. Assyrian writer and disciple of Justin Martyr. *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the gospels . . .	A.D. 160–170.
Theophilus. Of Antioch, *Ad Autolicum* .	*c.* A.D. 180.
Irenæus. At Lyons and Vienne. *Against Heresies*	A.D. 180.

Hippolytus. At Rome. *Refutation of all Heresies*	end of 2nd cent.
Clement of Alexandria. Head of the Catechetical school. *Pædagogus*, *Miscellanies*, etc.	end of 2nd cent.
Origen. Clement's successor at Alexandria, a learned and voluminous writer .	first half of 3rd cent.
Dionysius. Bishop of Alexandria and teacher after Origen . . .	A.D. 248.
Tertullian. North Africa. Many writings	end of 2nd and beginning of 3rd cent.
Eusebius. Bishop of Cæsarea in the reign of Constantine. *Ecclesiastical History*, etc.	early 4th cent.
Muratorian Fragment. A fragment of a Canon of the N.T. named after its discoverer Muratori . . .	*c.* A.D. 170.
Peshitto. The Syriac popular version of the N.T., probably preceded in part by other versions	2nd cent. to 4th cent.
Old Latin. A North African version, older than Tertullian	middle 2nd cent.
Vulgate. Latin version, revised by Jerome	early 5th cent.

APPENDIX B

HAMMURABI (AMRAPHEL)

THE most important discoveries of inscriptions of late years, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, are those connected with the Babylonian King Hammurabi, *c.* B.C. 2100, especially the laws engraved on the broken portions of a block of black diorite, once forming a monument about eight feet high. This important discovery was made in January, 1902. Hammurabi is very commonly, though by no means universally, identified with the Amraphel of Genesis xiv. The monument just mentioned contains about 3,600 lines of inscription in forty-four columns, including a legal code of nearly 300 ordinances. There are parallels with the Pentateuch which have suggested that some of its authors were acquainted with Hammurabi's laws, but the similarities hardly warrant such a conclusion. This and other recent discoveries confirm the view already held, that Babylon in this era had attained a high level of civilisation and exercised a dominant influence in Western Asia. They do not confirm the historicity of Genesis xiv., except to the extent stated on pp. 61, 62.

APPENDIX C

WISDOM LITERATURE

JOB, *PROVERBS*, and *ECCLESIASTES*, together with the Apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom of Solomon*, are often spoken of as the "Wisdom Literature," from their references to "Wisdom," or *Khochmah.* They are the nearest approach in the Old Testament to Philosophy and the speculative discussion of Theology, though they also include other material; *e.g.*, the narratives in *Job.* On the other hand, there are sections of other O.T. books which might be included in the Wisdom Literature, notably Psalm lxxiii. and the Psalms included in § IV., p. 149. Similar material is found in some of the Rabbinical writings, especially in the most ancient, the *Pirqe Aboth*, or *Sayings of the Fathers*, portions of which may be pre-Christian.

On the meagre and ambiguous evidence of a few references to "the Wise" in the O.T. a theory has been built up of a class of scholars who studied and wrote about "Wisdom" even before the exile; but it may be doubted whether this species of literature was not a post-exilic development in Israel, succeeding to and not contemporaneous with Prophecy.

APPENDIX D

THE RECENT CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

THIS criticism consists largely of the independent discussion of numerous sections, some very short. Some references have been made to it in the account of the contents, pp. 200 ff.; but these numerous discussions, involving endless details, cannot be summed up in any concise elementary statement. It is generally admitted (*a*) that much of the book comes directly from Jeremiah, or indirectly chiefly through Baruch; and that much that is told of the prophet is also from Baruch, and is substantially historical; and (*b*) that there are additions which are not directly or indirectly from Jeremiah or Baruch. Scholars, however, differ widely as to the distribution of material between (*a*) and (*b*). Apart from shorter passages, the following are very commonly assigned to (*b—Non-Jeremianic sections*):—x. 1–16, xvii. 19–27, xxxiii. 17–26, xxxix. 1–13, l.–lii. According to some critics, xlvi.–xlix., or large portions of them, would also belong to (*b*).

Cornill, in his Hebrew Text of Jeremiah in Dr. Paul Hampt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, distributes the book thus:—

(*a*)* *Contents of the Roll, mentioned in* xxxvi. 32.

i.–viii.; ix. 1–22; x. 17–24; xi.; xii. 1–6; xviii.; xxv. 1–29; xlvi. 1–12; xlvii. f.; xlix. 1–33.

(*b*)* *Other utterances of Jeremiah.*

ix. 23–25; xii. 7–17; xiii.–xvii.; xx.–xxiv.; xxix.–xxxii.; xxxiii. 1–13; xxxv.; xlvi. 13–20; xlvii.; xlviii.; xlix. 34–39.

* N.B.—From the passages in (*a*) and (*b*) must be excepted many interpolations, the more important of which are enumerated below in (*c*).

(*c*) *Sections not by Jeremiah.*

x. 1–16; xv. 11–14; xvii. 19–27; xix.; xx. 1–6; xxv. 4–6, 12–14, 30–38; xxvi.–xxviii.; xxix. 2, 16–31; xxx. 10, 11, 22–24; xxxi. 10–14, 35–37; xxxii. 1–5, 17–23; xxxiii. 2, 3, 11–26; xxxiv.; xxxvi.–xlv.; xlviii. 21–34, 45–47; l.–lii.

LIST OF BOOKS

TO WHICH THE STUDENT IS REFERRED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

CONSIDERATIONS of space necessitate the exclusion of many excellent works; there is only room for a representative selection. Untranslated foreign works are only mentioned where no satisfactory book of precisely the same character is accessible in English.

A. GENERAL.

1. *Bibliography.*—Introduction to Theology and its Literature, Alfred Cave, D.D. (T. and T. Clark.)

2. *Bible Dictionaries.*—A Dictionary of the Bible, edited by James Hastings, D.D. (T. and T. Clark.)

Encyclopædia Biblica, edited by T. K. Cheyne, D.D. (A. and C. Black.)

3. *Concise Handbooks.*—Cambridge Companion to the Bible. (Camb. Univ. Press.)

How to Read the Bible, by W. F. Adeney. (James Clarke.)

Primer of the Bible, W. H. Bennett. (Methuen.)

A Guide to Biblical Study, by A. S. Peake. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

4. *Geography of Palestine.*—Sinai and Palestine, by A. P. Stanley.

Historical Geography of the Holy Land, by Prof. G. A. Smith. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

Names and Places in O. and N.T., by G. Armstrong. (Pal. Expl. Fund.)

Publications and Maps of Pal. Expl. Fund.

Geographie des Alten Palästina, by D. F. Buhl. (J. C. B. Mohr, Leipzig.)

5. *Archæology.*—Antiquities of Israel, by H. Ewald. (Longmans.)

Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie, by W. Nowack. (J. C. B. Mohr, Leipzig.)

Hebräische Archäologie, by J. Benzinger. (J. C. B. Mohr.)

Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, by E. W. Lane. (Murray, 1871.)

Arabian Nights.

The Land and the Book, by W. M. Thomson.

Travels in Arabia Deserta, by C. M. Doughty.

B. Old Testament.

Books written more or less on the lines of traditional criticism are enclosed in brackets ( ); the critical position of the rest is substantially that of the O.T. section of this book, or else the books or subjects dealt with do not raise serious critical questions, or are treated without special reference to such questions.

1. *Canon.*—The Canon of the O.T., by Prof. E. H. Ryle. (Macmillan.)

2. *Text.*—A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the O.T., by T. H. Weir. (Williams and Norgate.)

Introduction to the Hebrew Bible, by C. D. Ginsburg, Trinitarian Bible Soc.

3. *History.*—History of Israel, by H. Ewald, 5 vols., tr. (Longmans.)[1]

Lectures on the Hist. of the Jewish Ch., by A. P. Stanley, 3 vols. (Murray.)[1]

History of the Hebrews, by R. Kittel (applying Dillmann's critical views), tr. (Williams and Norgate.)

History of the People of Israel, by Prof. C. H. Cornill, tr. (Kegan Paul.)

Histoire du Peuple d'Israel, by C. Piepenbring. (Williams and Norgate.)

History of Israel, by J. Wellhausen, tr. (A. and C. Black.)

Old Testament History, by H. P. Smith. (T. and T. Clark.)

[1] Representing the transition from traditional to modern criticism.

Old Testament History, by G. W. Wade. (Methuen.)

History of the Hebrews, by R. L. Ottley. (Camb. Univ.)

The Biblical History of the Hebrews, by Foakes-Jackson, F. J. (Heffer.)

4. *Introduction.*—Introduction to the Lit. of the O.T., by Prof. S. R. Driver. (T. and T. Clark.)

Outline of the Hist. of the Lit. of the O.T., by Prof. E. Kautzsch, tr. (Williams and Norgate.)

O.T. in the Jewish Ch., by W. Robertson Smith. (A. and C. Black.)

5. *Theology.*—Theology of the O.T., by A. B. Davidson. (T. and T. Clark.)

O.T. Theology, by H. Schultz, tr. (T. and T. Clark.)

Theology of O.T., by C. Piepenbring, tr. (New York.)

Theology of O.T., by W. H. Bennett. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

Lehrbuch der Alt-Testamentlichen Religionsgeschichte, by R. Smend. (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B.)

6. *Assyrian and Egyptian Inscriptions, etc.*—History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, by J. P. McCurdy, 3 vols. (Macmillan.)

The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T., by E. Schrader, tr. (Williams and Norgate.)

(The Higher Criticism and the Monuments, by A. H. Sayce, S.P.C.K.)[1]

Life in Ancient Egypt, by A. Erman, tr. (Macmillan.)

Authority and Archæology, by S. R. Driver, etc. (Murray.)

Light from the East, by C. J. Ball. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century, by H. V. Hilprecht. (T. and T. Clark.)

The Seven Tablets of Creation, by L. W. King. (Luzac.)

The Ancient East (Series of Booklets). (Nutt.)

The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, by S. A. Cook. (Black.)

[1] But accepts most of the principles and many of the results of modern criticism.

The Oldest Code of Laws (Hammurabi), by C. H. W. Johns. (T. and T. Clark.)

7. *Commentaries, etc.*—Abbreviations, etc.: (a) Works on introduction. (b) Complete commentaries for advanced students. (c) Concise commentaries for English readers, etc. (d) Expository works, which do not include a complete detailed commentary. (e) Works in which the text is arranged so as to show the analysis into earlier documents, including some notes, but not a complete commentary.

C.B., Century Bible (T. C. and E. C. Jack); *C.B.S.*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Camb. Univ. Press); *E.B.*, Expositor's Bible (Hodder and Stoughton); *H.B.C.*, Handbooks for Bible Classes (T. and T. Clark); *I.C.*, International Critical Commentary (T. and T. Clark); *P.B.*, Polychrome Bible (James Clarke and Co.).

H.B., Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament (S. Hirzel, Leipsic); *H.C.*, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B.); *H.K.*, Hand-Kommentar zum A.T. (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen.).

Pentateuch (or Hexateuch = Pent. + Josh.).[1]

(a) The Hexateuch, by Kuenen, tr. (Macmillan.)

The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, by C. A. Briggs. (New York.)

Einleitung in den Hexateuch, by H. Holzinger. (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B.)

Hebraica, Papers in, 1888, v.–viii., by W. R. Harper and (W. H. Green).

(The Inspiration of the O.T., by Dr. A. Cave, Congregational Union.)

(The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch, by W. H. Green.) (Dickinson.)

The Hexateuch, by J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby. (Longmans.)

(e) Documents of the Hexateuch, by W. E. Addis, 2 vols. (Nutt.)

Genesis.[2]—(b) Delitzsch, tr. (T. and T. Clark); Dillmann, tr. (T. and T. Clark); Gunkel (*H.K.*). (c) G. W. Wade; S. R. Driver (Methuen); W. H. Bennett (*C.B.*). (d) Marcus Dods (*E.B.*). (e) The Genesis of Genesis, by B. W. Bacon, Hartford, U.S.A. The Composition of the Book of Genesis, by E. I. Fripp. (Nutt.)

[1] *Cf.* several books. [2] *Cf.* Pentateuch.

Exodus.[1]—(b) Exodus and Leviticus, by C. V. Ryssel (*H.B.*); B. Baentsch (*H.K.*). (c) W. H. Bennett, (*C.B.*). (e) The Triple Tradition of the Exodus, by B. W. Bacon, Hartford, U.S.A., all Pent. except Genesis.

Leviticus.[1]—(b) See Exodus; B. Baentsch (*H.K.*); Bertholet (*H.C.*). (e) See Exodus; also S. R. Driver and H. A. White (*P.B.*).

Numbers.[1]—(b) Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua, by A. Dillmann (*H.B.*); G. B. Gray (*I.C.*); B. Baentsch (*H.K.*). (e) See Exodus.

Deuteronomy.[1]—(b) Driver (*I.C.*); Bertholet (*H.C.*); Steuernagel (*H.K.*). (d) A. Harper (*E.B.*). (e) See Exodus.

Joshua.[2]—(b) See Numbers; Steuernagel (*H.K.*); Holzinger (*H.C.*). (c) J. S. Black (*Smaller C.B.S.*). (e) W. H. Bennett (*P.B.*).

Judges.—(b) G. F. Moore (*I.C.*); Nowack (*H.K.*); Budde (*H.C.*). (c) J. S. Black (*Smaller C.B.S.*); G. W. Thatcher (*C.B.*). (e) G. F. Moore (*P.B.*).

Ruth.—(b) A. Bertholet, in Die Fünf Megillot (*H.C.*); Nowack (*H.K.*). (c) R. Sinker, in Ellicott's O.T. Comm. for Eng. Readers. (Cassell.)

Samuel.—Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, by Driver. (Clarendon Press.) (b) H. P. Smith (*I.C.*); Budde (*H.C.*). (c) A. R. S. Kennedy (*C.B.*); A. F. Kirkpatrick (*C.B.S.*), 2 vols.

Kings.—(b) J. Benzinger (*H.C.*); C. F. Burney (Notes on the Hebrew Text); Kittel (*H.K.*). (c) J. Skinner (*C.B.*). (d) F. W. Farrar (*E.B.*).

Chronicles.—(b) Kittel (*H.K.*); Benzinger (*H.C.*). (c) W. E. Barnes (*C.B.S.*). (d) W. H. Bennett (*E.B.*).

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.—(b) C. V. Ryssel (*H.B.*); Siegfried (*H.K.*); Bertholet, Ez. and Neh. (*H.C.*). (c) H. E. Ryle, Ez. and Neh. (*C.B.S.*). (d) W. F. Adeney (*E.B.*).

Job.—(a) T. K. Cheyne, Job and Solomon; W. T. Davison, Wisdom Literature of the O.T. (C. H. Kelly). (b) Duhm (*H.C.*); S. Cox (Kegan Paul); Budde (*H.K.*). (c) A. B. Davidson (*C.B.S.*); Peake (*C.B.*); E. C. S. Gibson (Methuen). (d) R. A. Watson (*E.B.*).

[1] *Cf.* Pentateuch. [2] *Ibid.*

Proverbs.—(b) C. H. Toy (*I.C.*); Wildeboer (*H.C.*); Frankenberg (*H.K.*). (c) Archd. Perowne (*C.B.S.*). (d) R. F. Horton (*E.B.*).

Psalms.—(a) T. K. Cheyne, Origin of the Psalter (Kegan Paul); W. T. Davison, Praises of Israel (C. H. Kelly). (b) Cheyne (Kegan Paul); C. A. Briggs (*I.C.*); Duhm (*H.C.*); Baethgen (*H.K.*). (c) Davison and Witton Davies (*C.B.*); A. F. Kirkpatrick, 3 vols. (*C.B.S.*); Wellhausen (*P.B.*). (d) A. Maclaren (*E.B.*), 3 vols.

Ecclesiastes.—(a) Cheyn and Davison, as on Job. (b) G. Wildeboer, in Die Fünf Megillot, see Ruth; T. Tyler (Nutt); Siegfried (*H.K.*); C. A. Barton (*I.C.*). (c) E. H. Plumptre (*C.B.S.*). (d) S. Cox (*E.B.*); Koheleth, by T. C. Finlayson.

Canticles or Song of Songs.—(b) C. D. Ginsburg (Longmans); Budde, in the Fünf Megillot, see Ruth; Siegfried (*H.K.*). (d) W. F. Adeney, Cant. and Lam. (*E.B.*).

The Prophets.[1]

(a) The Prophets of Israel—Amos, Hosea, I. Isaiah, Micah—by W. R. Smith. (A. and C. Black.)

The Books of the Prophets, by G. G. Findlay, vol. i.—Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah xv., xvi., Amos, Zechariah ix.-xiv., Micah. (C. H. Kelly.)

The Theology of the Prophets, by A. Duff—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. (A. and C. Black.)

Isaiah.[2]—(a) Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, by Cheyne (A. and C. Black); Isaiah, etc., by Driver (Nisbet); (Isaiah One and His Book One, by G. C. M. Douglas), (Nisbet). (b) Cheyne, 2 vols. (Kegan Paul); Delitzsch, 2 vols., tr. (T. and T. Clark); Duhm (*H.K.*); Marti (*H.C.*). (c) J. Skinner, 2 vols. (*C.B.S.*); Whitehouse (*C.B.*); W. E. Barnes (Methuen). (d) G. A. Smith, 2 vols. (*E.B.*). (e) Cheyne (*P.B.*).

Prophecies of Isaiah—pamphlet on Assyriology, etc.—by M. L. Kellner, Camb., U.S.A.

Jeremiah.—(a) Jeremiah, etc., by Cheyne. (Nisbet.) (b) Cheyne, Exposition in Pulpit Comm.; Giesebrecht (*H.K.*); Duhm (*H.C.*). (c) A. W. Streane (*C.B.S.*). (d) i.-xx., C. J. Ball (*E.B.*); xxi.-lii., W. H. Bennett (*E.B.*).

[1] *Cf.* the several books. [2] See *The Prophets.*

Lamentations.—(b) Cheyne, at end of Jeremiah; Budde, in the Fünf Megillot, see Ruth. (c) Streane, at end of Jeremiah. (d) W. F. Adeney, see Canticles.

Ezekiel.—(b) A. Bertholet (*H.C.*); Kraetzschmar (*H.K.*). (c) A. B. Davidson (*C.B.S.*); Toy (*P.B.*). (d) J. Skinner (*E.B.*).

Daniel.—(a) (The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint, by John Kennedy. Eyre and Spottiswoode.) (b) A. A. Bevan (Camb. Univ. Press); (J. E. H. Thomson, etc., Pulpit Comm.), (Kegan Paul); J. D. Prince (Williams and Norgate); Behrmann (*H.K.*); Marti (*H.C.*). (c) S. R. Driver (*C.B.S.*). (d) F. W. Farrar (*E.B.*).

The Minor Prophets.—(b) Nowack (*H.K.*); Pusey; Wellhausen (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Part V., Reimer, Berlin. (c) Horton and Driver (*C.B.*). (d) G. A. Smith, 2 vols. (*E.B.*).

Hosea.[1]—(c) Cheyne (*C.B.S.*). *Hosea and Amos.*—W. R. Harper (*I.C.*).

Joel and Amos.[1]—(b) *Amos*, H. G. Mitchell (Boston). (c) Driver (*C.B.S.*).

Obadiah[1] *and Jonah.*[2]—(c) T. T. Perowne (*C.B.S.*).

Micah.[1]—(c) Cheyne (*C.B.S.*).

Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah.[2]—(c) A. B. Davidson (*C.B.S.*).

Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[2]—(c) T. T. Perowne (*C.B.S.*).

Zechariah.—(b) (C. H. H. Wright). (Hodder and Stoughton.)

8. *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, etc.*

The Apocryphal Books, by H. T. Andrews. (T. C. and E. C. Jack.)

Apocrypha, in "Speaker's Comm.," by H. Wace, etc., 2 vols. (Murray.)

Pseudepigrapha, by W. J. Deane. (T. and T. Clark.)

Books which influenced our Lord, etc., by J. E. H. Thomson. (T. and T. Clark.)

The Age of the Maccabees, by A. W. Streane. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

Book of Wisdom, by W. J. Deane. (Oxford.)

Book of Enoch, by R. H. Charles. (Oxford.)

Book of the Secrets of Enoch, by W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles. (Oxford.)

[1] See *The Prophets* and *The Minor Prophets.*

[2] See *The Minor Prophets.*

Apocalypse of Baruch, R. H. Charles.

First Maccabees, W. Fairweather and J. S. Black (*C.B.S.*).

Psalms of Solomon, by H. E. Ryle and M. R. James. (Camb. Univ. Press.)

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, by R. Sinker.

Book of Jubilees, by R. H. Charles. (Black.)

C. New Testament.

1. *Canon.*—Canonicity, by Prof. A. H. Charteris. (Blackwood.)

History of the Canon, by Bishop Westcott. (Macmillan.)

History of the Canon, by Prof. E. Reuss. (Eng. trans. Gemmell, Edinburgh.)

New Testament in the Christian Church, by Moore. (Macmillan.)

Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, by Th. Zahn. (Erlangen and Leipzig.)

Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur, by Adolf Harnack. (Leipzig.)

2. *Text.*—Novum Testamentum Graece, with full critical apparatus, by Tischendorf, 8th edit. (Leipzig.)

New Testament (Greek), by Westcott and Hort. (Macmillan.)

The Greek Text of the Revised Version. (Oxford University Press.)

Greek Testament, Revised Text, by Nestle. (British and Foreign Bible Society.)

The Resultant N.T., by Dr. Weymouth. (Eliot Stock.)

Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto—an excellent Gr. N.T. at a low price. (Stuttgart.)

3. *Textual Criticism.*—Prolegomena to Tischendorf's N.T., by C. G. Gregory (Latin). (Leipzig.)

Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T., by Scrivener, 4th edit., edited by Miller. (Deighton Bell.)

Introduction to Westcott and Hort's N.T., by Dr. Hort. (Macmillan.)

Textual Criticism of N.T., by Prof. B. B. Warfield, D.D. (Theol. Educator, Hodder and Stoughton.)

Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, by F. G. Kenyon. (Macmillan and Co.)

Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament, by Nestle. (Williams and Norgate.)

The Text of the N.T., by K. Lake. (Oxford Church Text Books, Rivingtons.)

4. *History.*—A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, by E. Schürer. (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

New Testament Times, by Hausrath. (Eng. trans., Williams and Norgate.)

Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ, by E. Stapfer. (Eng. trans., Hodder and Stoughton.)

Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, by Lechler. (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, by O. Holtzmann. (Freiburg.)

The Apostolic Age, by Bartlet. (T. and T. Clark.)

Christianity in the Apostolic Age, by C. Weitzsäcker (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

Lives of Christ, by B. Weiss (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark); S. J. Andrews—a Student's Text-book (Ibister). Edersheim (Longmans); Didon (Paris); Geikie (Strahan); D. Smith, The Days of His Flesh (Hodder and Stoughton); Sanday (T. and T. Clark); O. Holtmann (A. and C. Black); Beyschlag (Halle).

St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, Prof. Ramsay (Hodder and Stoughton); Bacon, The Story of St. Paul (Hodder and Stoughton); Weinel, St. Paul (Williams and Norgate).

Paulinism, by Pfleiderer. (Eng. trans., Williams and Norgate.)

5. *Introduction.*—N.T. Introductions (in English), by Salmon (Murray); Weiss (Eng. trans., Hodder and Stoughton); Jülicher, trans. by Janet Ward (Smith, Elder, and Co.); Bacon (Macmillan); The Historical New Testament, by J. Moffatt (T. and T. Clark). In German, by Zahn (Freiburg); Holtzmann (Freiburg).

Von Soden, History of Early Christianity. (Williams and Norgate.)

6. *Theology.*—The Teaching of Jesus, by Wendt. (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

The Teaching of Jesus, by R. H. Horton. (J. Clarke and Co.)

Jesus, by Bousset. (Williams and Norgate.)

The Kingdom of God, and The Training of the Twelve, by Bruce. (T. and T. Clark.)

New Testament Theology, by Beyschlag. (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

New Testament Theology, by B. Weiss. (Eng. trans., T. and T. Clark.)

Theology of N.T., by Stevens. (T. and T. Clark.)

Theology of N.T., by W. F. Adeney. (Theol. Educ., Hodder and Stoughton.)

Wernle, Beginnings of Christianity (Williams and Norgate); Dobschütz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church (Williams and Norgate).

Theology of Hebrews, by Bruce (T. and T. Clark); Milligan (T. and T. Clark).

Theology of John, by Stevens. (Dickinson.)

Theology of St. Paul, by Sabatier (Eng. trans., Hodder and Stoughton); Stevens (Dickinson).

Theologie du Nouveau Testament, by J. Bovon. (Lausanne.)

Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie, by N. T. Holtzmann. (Freiburg.)

7. *Synoptic Problem.*—Besides the N.T. Introductions the following deal especially with this subject: Articles Gospel in Bible Dictionary, by Dr. V. H. Stanton; in Encyc. Bib., by Dr. Abbott and Schmiedel.

The Gospels as Historical Documents, by Stanton. (Camb.)

Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek, by Arthur Wright. (Macmillan.)

Horæ Synopticæ, by Sir J. C. Hawkins, Bart. (Oxford, Clarendon Press.)

Synopticon, by Rushbrooke. (Macmillan.)

Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, by Bishop Westcott, 8th edit. (Macmillan.)

Burkitt, Gospel History and Transmission. (T. and T. Clark.)

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